Men-at-Arms

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The New Zealand Wars 1820–72

Ian Knight • Illustrated by Raffaele Ruggeri

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Men-at-Arms • 487

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THE NEW ZEALAND WARS 1820–1872

INTRODUCTION

The series of wars that took place across both islands of New Zealand in the middle 30 years of the 19th century, between the indigenous population (the Maori) and the European newcomers (*pakeha*) defy an easy designation. The British – for whom these wars were a small part of the conflicts engendered by their Imperial progress across the globe – followed their usual habit of naming them after their enemy, and knew them as the 'Maori Wars'. Yet this term is unsatisfactory to many modern New Zealanders, because of its implied imputation of blame – as if the Maori alone were responsible for the conflict.

It is also true that, whilst the Maori came to develop a sense of common nationality during that century, there was no sense of shared identity in the early days. Maori groups defined themselves according to local allegiances – their *iwi,* tribe, or *hapu*, sub-tribe – rather than as a whole people. Indeed, the wars were essentially a series of local conflicts fought about specific issues, and while some themes were common to them all, others were not. Moreover, many Maori groups fought alongside the *pakeha* as well as against them, and for this reason some historians have suggested that they be labelled the 'New Zealand Civil Wars' – although this too is unsatisfactory, because the obvious differences between Maori and settler society do not fit easily into the concept of a single divided nation.

For decades after the wars some Maori groups remembered them as *Te Riri Pakeha* – 'the White Man's Anger'; but this, too, fails to embrace their full complexity. Some Maori, for whom the wars were unquestionably about land ownership, refer to them as *Nga Pakanga Whenua O Mua*, 'The Wars Fought Over The Land Many Years Ago'. Some historians have followed this lead, and called them the 'Land Wars' – but in fact land was not always the defining issue, particularly in the earlier conflicts. The most comprehensive and neutral term must therefore be simply 'the New Zealand Wars', for which reasons it has been used here.

* * *

Although the emphasis here is upon the dress and weapons of the Maori–*pakeha* confrontations, essentially between 1845 and 1872, reference has also been made to earlier intertribal conflicts, particularly the 'Musket Wars' of *c.* 1820–43. As that term implies, these were profoundly influenced by

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contact with the European world, and had scarcely ended when the first wars against the British began. Inevitably, these campaigns too are known by various names, most of which stress the central role of imported European products. (Indeed, some historians have even suggested that they be labelled the 'Potato Wars' – since the advent of the American sweet potato enabled more efficient provisioning of Maori armies, allowing extended campaigning.)

PRE-COLONIAL MAORI SOCIETY

Maori tradition ascribes the settlement of New Zealand to ancestors who arrived from Polynesia in canoes many generations before. In the late 19th and early 20th century scholars in colonial New Zealand collected and synthesized these traditions to suggest that the Maori colonized the islands in a 'great fleet' of seven canoes which arrived in about 1350, quickly displacing the primitive pre-existing peoples they found there. In the 20th century, however, the 'great fleet' theory began to lose credibility, partly because of its obvious ideological content – the implication that greater societies inevitably displaced lesser ones, thus serving to justify the later ascendancy of European settler society – and partly because new archaeological techniques, including radio-carbon dating, did not support it.

Studies of the physical remains of early human habitation on the islands show no evidence of a distinct pre-Maori culture, and it is now widely accepted that the first humans to occupy these great islands were the Maori themselves. It is thought that they originated in East Polynesia and first spread to New Zealand in the late 1200s. According to Maori tradition, at the end of a long voyage Hine-te-aparangi, the wife of a legendary explorer named Kupe, commented on seeing a particular cloud formation on the horizon, 'it is a long time since seeing *Aotearoa*' – a cloud that indicates land; and Aotearoa became widely used as the Maori name for, initially, the North Island, and then New Zealand as a whole.

The population spread across both North and South Islands. The people subsisted on food-plants they had brought with them, such as the *kumara* or sweet potato; by hunting local birds, including the giant flightless *moa;* and by fishing. As settlement increased in the most fertile agricultural areas and those closest to rich fishing grounds, a complex society developed based upon the concept of the tribe or *iwi*, and in particular the familial bonds which linked the *hapu* or sub-tribe. The early Maori defined themselves in terms of their *hapu* or *iwi,* and, lacking any broader contact with the outside world, had no need for a collective concept of themselves as opposed to any other peoples.

Striking study of a Maori man named Kamareira Te Hau Takiri Wharepapa. Again, note the signs of his high status: fine *moko* tattooing, *huia* feathers in his tied-back hair, a well-made flax cloak with a multi-coloured border, and a shark's-tooth ear pendant with trade ribbon streamers.

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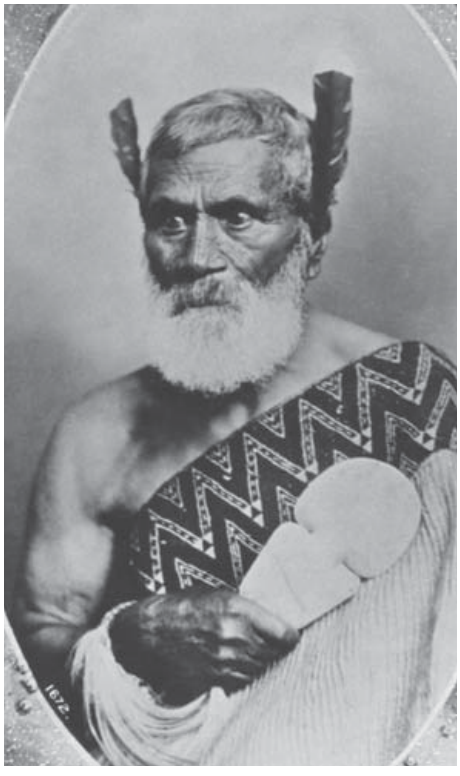
The term Maori, which means essentially 'the local people', only gained widespread currency early in the 19th century to distinguish indigenous New Zealanders from new arrivals of European origin.

Early Maori society had a stone-age technology. Tools were fashioned from wood, stone or bone. At the time of the first Maori arrivals New Zealand had no native mammals apart from maritime ones (seals, sea-lions and whales) and bats, and this limited the resources available to feed and clothe the human population. Instead, Maori society came to rely heavily for clothing on the long, fibrous leaves of two related perennial plants, *Phormium tenax* and *Phormium colensoi;* although a distinct species, these were named by the European settlers after their similarity to the flax plant – the source of linen. The Maori used flax to make woven cloaks, baskets, mats, nets, and the thatch of their houses. Indeed, the British explorer Capt James Cook noted that 'of the leaves of this plant, with very little preparation, they make all their common apparel and…also their strings, lines and cordage'.

Patterns of settlement in pre-Colonial times were shaped by the proximity of natural resources, and geographical features such as rivers or mountains separated the various *iwi* and *hapu*. Each *hapu* was governed by an *ariki*, a chief, whose position was hereditary and who was considered the embodiment of the *mana* of his ancestors. The concept of *mana* was crucial to Maori society, but its meaning remains elusive and difficult to translate precisely – it was a spiritual distillation of prestige, reputation, authority, character, status or even pride. An individual's *mana* rose and fell throughout his life according to his ability or achievements in different aspects of life.



The identity of this elderly man is unknown. Note that he wears his pattern-bordered flax cloak from right armpit to left shoulder, leaving his right arm free. He holds a traditional hand-weapon, a 'violin'-shaped *patu kotiate* made from whalebone.

Intertribal warfare

An element of instability was inherent in pre-colonial Maori society as various *iwi* and *hapu* competed for territory, resources and *mana*. Although some areas remained largely untroubled for generations, others were locked in an unremitting cycle of raid and retribution which left its mark on the human demographics, with the villages clustering close to characteristic fortified stockades known as *pa*s.

As important to the Maori as the accumulation of *mana* was the concept of *utu* – reciprocal payment for an insult, slight or wrong. Although *utu* was sometimes satisfied by negotiation, it was more often taken by force, particularly in reprisal for the shedding of blood. A family or *hapu* who lost a member to an enemy attack might seek *utu* not merely from the actual perpetrators but from anyone in the offending group, and at a time of their own choice. In pursuit of such feuds it was not unusual for revenge attacks to take place years, decades or, in extreme cases, even a generation later – and the price exacted would quite likely provoke a reciprocal call for fresh *utu* in return. The legacy of past bloodshed, particularly during the Musket Wars, helped shape allegiances during the subsequent wars with the British, and remained a factor in deciding on which side a particular *hapu* might fight.

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Maori artefacts collected at the beginning of the 20th century. These include:
(1) *Moko mokai*, a smoke-dried head taken as a war trophy.
(2) Tools used by a *tohunga* for tattooing – the striking rod, above an adze-shaped tool mounting a small chisel of sharp albatross-bone.
(5) A *tiki* charm pendant.
(13) A carved feather-box.
(9, 10 & 11) are bone *patu* hand-weapons,
(12) a wooden club, and (8) a greenstone *mere,* the most prestigious of hand-weapons. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

Cannibalism was a feature of pre-Colonial Maori warfare, although its extent remains a highly controversial issue. Victorious Maori warriors ate the flesh of defeated enemies, whether killed in the field or captured and executed afterwards, both to heap humiliation upon the defeated and to consume their *mana*. The practice remained widespread during the Musket Wars but seems to have died away later, before a limited revival late in the 'Land Wars', when it was used both to rally Maori resistance behind a fierce appeal to the warrior past, and to terrify European enemies. In addition to sometimes eating human flesh, victorious Maori would decapitate prominent victims and smoke-dry the heads as trophies, particularly if they displayed impressive facial tattooing. The heads of fallen enemies were often displayed on the canoes of returning war parties or mounted on the palisades of *pa*s.

European contact

By the 16th century rival European nations had discovered the maritime routes around southern Africa and were soon expanding their chains of trading posts, first into the Indian Ocean and thence, by way of the Far East, into the Pacific.[1] By the 17th century Dutch explorers had charted the northern and western coasts of Australia, and in December 1642 two ships commanded by the explorer Abel Tasman first sighted Aotearoa. Tasman christened the islands Nieuw Zeeland, later Anglicized

1 See MAA 484, *The Portuguese in the Age of Discovery, c. 1340–1665*

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to New Zealand. When his ships anchored off the north coast of South Island they were spotted by Maori of the Ngati Tumatakokiri tribe, who set out in canoes to intercept them. As one of Tasman's ship's boats was passing between his vessels it was rammed by a Maori canoe, causing the deaths of four sailors; Tasman's men responded with musket-fire, driving the Maori off. Tasman logged the spot as 'Murderers' Bay' on his charts, and sailed on; this was both the first documented encounter between Europeans and Maori, and the first bloodshed between them.

In 1769 the islands were again visited, this time by the British navigator Capt James Cook, and thereafter they attracted British, French and American commercial shipping, many of them whaling or sealing vessels. Contact between the Maori and the outsiders whom they called *pakeha* increased. The Maori were quick to see the commercial advantages they brought, and traded food, flax and even smoke-dried heads for metal tools and guns. By the beginning of the 19th century a number of small European coastal settlements had developed, which both traded with the Maori and served as ports of call for passing ships. Lying outside the jurisdiction of the various maritime powers, they were essentially anarchic and their dealings with the Maori were unregulated. It was through the agency of these settlements that the Maori began to acquire large number of firearms, with enormous consequences for both Maori warfare and society.

THE MUSKET WARS, *c.* 1820–43

Before the advent of firearms the Maori had access to very few long-range weapons, and fighting was traditionally carried out at close quarters, in heroic style, between groups of men armed with wooden striking weapons or stone clubs. The earliest firearms acquired by the Maori were flintlock muskets, often of the poorest quality; yet even with an accurate range of only about 50 yards these still gave their owners a tremendous tactical advantage. Many of the European settlements were clustered on the northern end of the North Island, and it was Maori from this area who first adopted firearms in battle. Their first documented use in action was at the battle of Moremonui, which took place there between the Ngapuhi and Ngati Whatua tribes in 1807. On that occasion the Ngapuhi, armed with muskets, were ambushed by an Ngati Whatua force armed with traditional weapons, and overwhelmed; because of the limited range of their muskets they had no time to reload after their first shots before being overrun by their enemies' charge.

In 1820 a Ngapuhi chief, Hongi Hika, who had cultivated links with British missionaries, visited London. There he met a French adventurer who offered him guns in return for land, and Hongi returned to New Zealand with an impressive stock. Thus armed, he immediately embarked on a series of raids against his rivals. Hongi adopted an efficient 'factory' approach to warfare: he set captured enemies to work as slaves producing cash crops, which could more readily be exchanged with European traders for fresh supplies of muskets. This produced an arms-race as other tribes hastened to arm themselves, and fighting became widespread across the North Island.

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Raiding parties were often away from home for months at a time, and the warriors provisioned themselves with another *pakeha* import: the American sweet potato, larger and quicker-growing than the smaller Maori *kumara* potato. Early war parties numbered just a few hundred men, but they peaked in the mid-1820s with as many as 2,000 at a time, dropping to an average of 200 or so by the time these wars finally sputtered out in the 1840s.

Some historians estimate that as many as 500 engagements took place during the period of the Musket Wars, and that some 18,000 people were killed out of a total Maori population of around 100,000. A further 30,000 people were driven from their land, and those tribes that emerged as clear winners did so with greatly enlarged territory. The changes in tribal boundaries complicated dealings with Europeans anxious to buy land, and exaggerated the importance of *pakeha* settlements as the source of firearms. The wars intensified hostilities between Maori groups, influencing patterns of allegiance during the subsequent wars against the Europeans.

These conflicts also saw a shift away from the traditional Maori tactical dependence on individual close combat, and some groups pioneered effective techniques including closely supported 'fire and movement' tactics and ambushes. More importantly, the widespread use of firearms led to a shift of emphasis in Maori military engineering.

MAORI FORTIFICATIONS: THE *PA*

In pre-colonial times the Maori *pa* was an impressive combination of earthwork and complex stockade that served to protect its *hapu*. In areas of relative stability the *pa* was built on some strategic spot central to the community, and in peacetime might only be occupied by the chief and his family, while commoners built their *whare*s – thatched homes – in the surrounding area, though always able to retire to the *pa* in times of danger. In other, more dangerous areas entire settlements were built within the confines of the *pa*.

The Maori lacked both metal tools and wheeled transport, and the construction of even a small *pa* required a tremendous amount of co-ordinated physical labour, usually the labour-force of an entire *hapu*. Sites were carefully selected according to their defensibility, commonly on hilltops, and were often protected by natural features such as rivers or ravines guarding the approaches. Before the advent of firearms the Maori lacked any weapons capable of causing casualties from more than a few yards away, and it was of no consequence if a *pa* site was overlooked from higher ground nearby.

British troops outside the palisades of the Makahi-Nuka *pa* during the Hutt River valley campaign against the Ngati Toa at the southern tip of North Island in 1847. Note the substantial stockade typical of the early *pa*.

Maori planners would consider the lie of the ground and plan the defences along contour lines before gangs of labourers, working with nothing more than wooden tools, began levelling terraces for living quarters and digging surrounding ditches. Often a *pa* was ringed with two or three concentric

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lines of trenches, all of them at least 6ft (2m) deep, many of them 9–13ft (3–4m) deep, with the excavated soil piled up between them to form thick, high ramparts. A series of heavy logs would then be cut in nearby woodland and dragged to the site with thick flax ropes, to be sunk into deep holes dug around the perimeter. These served as the support posts for lines of palisades bound between them.

The palisades were usually mounted on the top of the ramparts, sometimes with a trench in front to delay the enemy, and sometimes with one behind so that a defender could shelter in the trench and jab out between the palings at ground level with long spears and striking weapons at any attacker on the outside. Sometimes extra screens of palisading were added outside the exterior 'curtain', angled either outwards – providing an almost impossible barrier to climb – or inwards, so that any attacker trying to scale the slope would be exposed to the defenders within. High fighting platforms were built to command vulnerable angles or entrances, so that the defenders could shower the attackers with stones or stab down at them with long spears. Sometimes platforms were built overhanging the outer perimeter, so that the defenders were directly over the heads of the attackers.

Entrances to the traditional *pa* were usually complex. A gateway might be cut through the body of a single tree-trunk, and the remaining wood decorated with characteristic carved devices (the tops of the main supports in the palisades were usually carved, too, often in symbolic representation of the heads of fallen enemies). Once through the gateway, access to the interior usually led through a warren of interior lines and defended screens that made it almost impossible for an attacker to force an entry. A variety of sophisticated designs perfected over centuries made the traditional *pa* almost impregnable to a direct attack by an enemy armed only with close-quarter weapons. There were techniques for taking it by storm – for example, by tossing a stout branch on a long rope over the palisades like a grappling iron, by fire, or even by mining – but these all involved working at dangerously close quarters.

Like medieval European commanders before the advent of cannon, many Maori generals preferred to try to gain entry to a *pa* by ruse, or hoped to starve it into submission. This sometimes worked, but the defenders were well aware of the risks, and would stockpile water and *kumara* inside before any anticipated attack. With the arrival of guns among the Maori, however, the traditional *pa* became obsolete remarkably quickly. Any attacking party which enjoyed a greater number of firearms could threaten a *pa* at almost no risk to themselves. Although the palisades were strong enough to protect against musket shot, defenders on the raised palisades were woefully exposed and could be picked off with ease, exposing vulnerable areas to direct attack. Where a *pa* was overlooked by even a slight rise within musket-range the attackers could use this to rake the interior, making life inside untenable. During the Musket Wars dozens of *pa*s which had previously been considered invulnerable fell under the onslaught of the new technology.

The 'gunfighters' *pa*'

The result was the emergence of a new phenomenon, the so-called 'gunfighters' *pa*', which adapted and developed the main principles of Maori fortification specifically for the age of firearms. 'Gunfighters' *pa*s'

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were seldom built with extended occupation in mind. They were intended to make a military point – to serve as a challenge to the enemy, to provoke an attack over carefully prepared ground, to inflict casualties, or simply to build up the *mana* of the defenders. Once it had achieved these objectives in battle the *pa* had served its purpose, and the Maori saw no shame in abandoning it.

'Gunfighters' *pa*s' were seldom built on high ground, but rather on slopes that gave a clear view of the approaches and offered an easy escape route, often to nearby bush – this was an essential element in their planning. The heavy palisades of the traditional *pa* gave way, typically, to a double row of fencing comprising a main palisade and a lighter outer screen, the *pekerangi*. Both were lined inside by shoulder-deep trenches that enabled the defenders to shelter themselves comfortably while firing through gaps deliberately left in the palisades at ground height. No longer basically circular, *pa*s became variations on the square or rectangle so as to maximize the line of fire on all sides, and often had projecting bastions at the corners to provide enfilading fire. Sometimes the *pekerangi* was draped with flax mats, which deadened the effect of musket fire and obscured the interior details.

When attacked, the defenders were able to retire from the outer defences to the inner line; the *pekerangi* then became an obstruction that delayed and often confused the attackers at just a few yards' range – in much the same way that, a few generations later, wire entanglements trapped attackers before enemy trenches on the Western Front. *Pa*s were often carefully sited to channel the enemy approach into pre-determined killing zones. Increasingly, as the wars progressed, Maori engineers added hidden rifle-pits, screened with fern, to surprise attackers as they approached the main works.

*Pa*s in the wars with the British

The principles of design evident in the 'gunfighters' *pa*' were laid down during the Musket Wars, and were already widely understood before the first clashes with the British. Nevertheless, in the 30 years of intermittent fighting with the *pakeha* which occurred from 1843 onwards, the Maori were able to refine these principles further.

In response to British artillery, many Maori leaders built increasingly complex trench systems within the confines of the *pa*, often including

Engraving of the central redoubt of Pukehinahina – the 'Gate *pa*' – in the Tauranga district on the north coast of North Island, where a British assault by the 43rd Regt and the Naval Bde was driven off with heavy loss on 29 April 1864. This is a classic late 'gunfighters' *pa*', reliant on trenches rather than a stockade – note the flimsy outer screen of palisading (left). The traversed entrenchments successfully held by the Maori garrison would not look out of place in a contemporary defensive position in the Crimean or American Civil wars.

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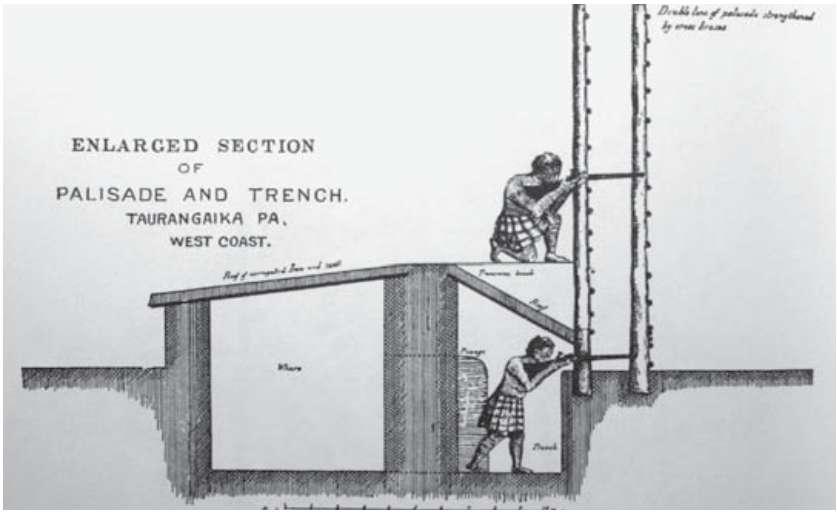

Cross-section of part of the defences of Titokowaru's *pa* at Tauranga-Ika, attacked by the British in February 1869. This shows a double palisade, loopholed at ground level for the use of riflemen in the deep internal ditch. A number of partly dug-out houses inside the stockade were roofed with earth over matting over corrugated iron, for cover from plunging fire. From some of these, platforms extended outwards to the stockade, where a second row of loopholes was available to the defenders.

bomb-proof bunkers where the defenders could shelter during an engagement. Because of the careful way in which individual staves were bound into the palisades, shell-fire was seldom as effective as the attackers hoped, often knocking out short sections of the stockade without creating an effective breach. Flax mats could be used to obscure the damage quickly, or to absorb the effect of explosions. Increasingly, by the 1860s, palisades themselves became of secondary importance to the entrenchments. The Rangiriri *pa* in November 1863 had no palisades at all, but rather was a series of impressive ramparts and interconnected redoubts, protected by a lake and by swampland on either flank. The 'Gate *Pa*', Pukehinahina, assaulted by British troops on 29 April 1864, had only a flimsy *pekerangi* designed specifically to delay the attackers close to the main entrenchments.

The British began their conflict with the Maori with the conventional attitude that Maori *pa,* like European entrenchments, could best be taken by artillery bombardment followed by a determined assault. Although it soon became obvious that these tactics were potentially costly – and indeed, were what the Maori expected and wanted – there were few clear alternatives. At the end of June 1845, for example, Col Despard spent several days bombarding the Ohaeawai *pa* of the chief of the northern Ngapuhi, Hone Heke, before committing 220 men of the 58th and 99th Regiments to a frontal assault. The storming party rushed to within 30 yards of the *pekerangi* before coming under such a devastating fire that it was repulsed with the loss of 40 dead and 70 wounded. Similar scenarios would take place many times in the subsequent conflicts, and early enthusiasm at the capture of *pa*s gave way to frustration when it was realized that in fact the Maori had deliberately abandoned them.

Nevertheless, the *pa* would remain the most tangible and conspicuous symbol of Maori defiance, and the British remained condemned to attack them anyway. Where they attempted encircling attacks rather than direct assaults they found the Maori had usually anticipated them, but one tactic that was normally successful was sapping – the steady digging of a protected trench towards the enemy. During the Taranaki campaign in 1860 the British commander, MajGen Pratt, instructed his men to dig a trench, reinforced with earth-filled wicker gabions and protected from

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Maori fire by internal traverses, for over 700 yards towards the Te Arei *pa*. Work was carried out day and night, and the Maori, recognizing the threat it presented, constantly harassed the digging parties with rifle-fire and sorties; they could not stop it, however, and in the end they abandoned the *pa* before Pratt's men were close enough to mount an assault. Although Pratt was widely ridiculed for his slow and cautious tactics, he had undoubtedly achieved his objective without resorting to a costly assault. Later, sapping was often used to provide a safe route close enough to a *pa* to serve as a final jumping-off point for a storming party. Yet neither the British nor the Colonial forces who succeeded them were ever able to develop consistently reliable tactics to overcome the *pa,* and it would remain a feature of the New Zealand wars to the very end.

THE FLAGSTAFF WAR, 1843–47

In the first decades of the 19th century maritime traffic past the northern tip of North Island increased dramatically. A settlement had grown up at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands which was heavily involved in trade with the Ngapuhi chief Hone Heke (a nephew of Hongi Hika). Hone Heke both appreciated the advantages the settlement brought, and was at the same time concerned that it was unregulated. So too were the British, who, by virtue of their Australian colonies, considered New Zealand to be within their sphere of influence, and who were concerned to limit possible American and French influence. The British government despatched a Royal Navy officer, Capt William Hobson, to reach an agreement with Maori chiefs that would establish some legal British claim within the islands. Hobson offered them British protection in return for authority over the islands, and in February 1840 Hone Heke and a number of other northern *ariki* signed a treaty at Waitangi.

From the first, however, both sides seem to have had different views on what had been agreed. Not only were there significant differences between the English and translated Maori versions of the document, but concepts of land ownership were in any case very different. Moreover, while the Treaty of Waitangi established the British Crown as the sole agent for land dealings, this merely placed the fledgling British administration at the centre of the developing territorial contest. Whilst the Maori looked to the Crown to preserve their lands and authority from voracious *pakeha* settlers, the settlers expected exactly the opposite – that the Crown would support them in prising land away from the reluctant Maori. Many aspects of the treaty, and its consequences, remain controversial today, and the first armed clash took place just three years later.

For the most part the South Island would remain largely free of conflict, but in 1841 settlers had established a village at Nelson on the island's northern tip. They were anxious to expand inland, but this was strongly resisted by the Ngati Toa Maori who occupied land on both sides of the Cook Strait between the two islands. Some of this was territory that the Ngati Toa had only recently occupied during the Musket Wars, and the settlers purchased some from the previous owners, who were not reconciled to its loss. The Ngati Toa angrily turned away surveyors, however, prompting a mob of settlers to march on the home of the Ngati

OPPOSITE Main areas of hostilities during the New Zealand Wars, with sites of important engagements and *pa*s.

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Chief Hone Heke of the Ngapuhi tribe and his wife; both are shown wearing waterproof cloaks of flax. Hone Heke was the first chief to sign the Treaty of Waitangi on February 1840, but he soon became disillusioned with the British authorities, and was the principal leader in the 'Flagstaff War'.

Toa chief, Te Ruaparaha. On 17 June 1843 a skirmish broke out at Wairau, and both settlers and Maori were killed. Te Ruaparaha disarmed the settlers, but, when he discovered that his daughter had been killed by a stray shot, he took *utu* by killing 12 settlers with his tomahawk.

In the event, the governor refused to act against the Ngati Toa, recognizing the rashness of the settlers. But the incident had been symptomatic of wider tensions, and almost immediately another outbreak occurred at the northern tip of the North Island. Although Hone Heke had been the first to sign the Treaty of Waitangi he had soon become disillusioned with its consequences, since one of the first acts of the governor was to establish a new capital elsewhere, at Auckland. With the shift of trade away from Kororareka the Ngapuhi lost many of the economic advantages they had formerly enjoyed. Hone Heke protested; then, increasingly frustrated, he led a party of his warriors to cut down a flagpole which flew the Union Flag from a prominent position above the settlement. The British put it back up, and twice more Heke cut it down – an apt symbol for the struggle for sovereignty that would develop across the next 30 years. On 11 March 1845 Hone Heke finally lost patience and attacked Kororareka itself; the village was sacked, and many of the settlers only escaped by taking refuge on ships anchored in the harbour.

British troops were promptly hurried to the area. Hone Heke and his ally, the Ngatihine chief Kawiti, built a number of *pa*s, which the British invariably attacked in the conventional manner. These attacks were usually driven off, but, having made their point, the Maori abandoned their positions. There was another element to the 'Flagstaff War', too, which would typify the unfolding conflict: in the end Hone Heke and Kawiti were brought to the negotiating table at the beginning of 1846 not by British action, but by conflict with pro-British chiefs among their own people.

Meanwhile, the Wairau incident had produced a sequel. Te Ruaparaha had retired to his tribal lands in the south of North Island, but once again found local settlers trying to exploit inter-Maori rivalry and, in particular, to press into the Hutt River valley. Once again the Ngati Toa opposed movements into their territory, and this time the British responded by building blockhouses to protect the settlers. On 16 May 1846 the outpost at Boulcott's Farm was attacked for several hours before the Maori were driven off. Although Te Ruaparaha had played no active part in the fighting he was implicated in planning the campaign, captured by British troops, and sent to Auckland.

Te Ruaparaha's nephew, Te Rangihaeata, built a *pa* at Horokiri and defended it in the face of British bombardment, before finally abandoning it on 10 August 1846. Although the Ngati Toa had not been significantly defeated, they chose now to bring an end to the fighting by abandoning the Hutt valley to the settlers. Many displaced Maori moved north to the Wanganui district, where tension between them and local settlers grew, leading to sporadic violence in April–July 1847.

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WARS FOR LAND, 1850s–1870s

The conflicts of the 1840s and afterwards focused the underlying tensions developing over the question of land ownership in New Zealand. European immigration was increasing rapidly, and by 1859 it was estimated that Maori and *pakeha* had reached parity of populations, at about 60,000 each. The majority of land remained in Maori possession, although from the settler perspective much of it was under-utilized. The British were, moreover, becoming more confident in their role as a world superpower, and were increasingly prepared to back settler interests in New Zealand.

The King Movement, 1850s–60s

In 1852 a Christian convert named Tamihana Te Ruaparaha, of the Ngati Toa, visited the UK and was presented to Queen Victoria. He returned to New Zealand with the belief that the Maori would have greater success in protecting their land if they could be unified under a single leader, who might deal on equal terms with the British Crown. The result was the *Kingitanga*, or Maori King Movement. A number of prominent tribes in central North Island agreed to ally themselves together under an elected king, and in 1858 an elderly veteran of the Musket Wars, Potatau te Wherewhero, became the first to hold the position. When he died in 1860 he was succeeded by his son Tawhiao. Although many tribes preferred to ally themselves to the Crown, and others would remain uncommitted either way, the King Movement would become the focus for a degree of unity among its Maori adherents against settler encroachment, particularly in its heartland, an area known as the Waikato (see map, page 12).

Nevertheless, most of the conflicts of the 1860s were essentially local affairs, although they often bled into one another and usually included

An artist's impression of the attack on the British flagstaff above the white settlement of Kororareka.

This sketch of an attack by the British 57th Regt on a *pa* in the Taraniki district captures many elements in the fighting. *Whare*s inside the enclosure have been set alight by shellfire; to the right of this, a storming column can be seen breaching the entrenchments, while at the left Maori abandon the position. In the foreground, skirmishers clear outlying Maori rifle pits.

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Eyewitness sketch by Lt H.G. Robley of fighting men of the Ngaiterangi *iwi* surrendering after the battles of Tauranga (Te Papa) and Gate *pa* in spring 1864. The warriors are wearing a mixture of traditional flax cloaks and trade blankets, and they carry both traditional weapons and *tupara* shotguns. Several sport military forage caps; note too the cartridge-box belts laid out on the ground. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ)

a common element – land ownership. In 1859 Maori living in Taranaki on the west coast of the North Island offered to sell a block of land at Waitara. The sale was opposed by many senior *ariki*, who argued that they had a greater title to it; but the British governor chose to interpret this as a challenge to British authority, and supported the sale. Troops were moved into Taranaki to facilitate settlement, and Maori of the Te Atiawa tribe built a *pa* at Te Kohia to indicate their defiance. On 17 March 1860 British troops attacked Te Kohia, firing the first shots of a protracted struggle that would flare up at intervals in various areas of the North Island for more than a decade. After a series of actions that culminated in Gen Pratt's attack on the Te Arei *pa* in January 1861 (see above, page 13), this Taranaki campaign ended in a ceasefire; but while the British had achieved some of their objectives, the Maori never acknowledged their defeat. Many disaffected Maori simply moved elsewhere, spreading resentment of British policies among groups who had not yet encountered them.

In 1861 Sir George Grey took up a second term as Governor of New Zealand. Grey was determined to pressure the Maori into releasing new land for settlement, and he identified the Kingitanga movement as being the major obstacle. Grey saw the Waikato region as a bastion of resistance, and in July 1863 he pushed British troops across the 'King Country' border. The invasion of the Waikato would prove the largest conflict yet, involving thousands of British regular troops supported by settler militia and by allied Maori. Even so, it is unlikely that Maori forces ever numbered more than 5,000 men, of whom no more than 2,000 – and often far fewer – fought in any single engagement.

The British commander, Gen Sir Duncan Cameron, advanced cautiously up the Waikato River, establishing protected bases as he went. For what was arguably the first time in these wars, the Maori constructed a series of *pa*s not as ritual challenges but rather with the specific intent of blocking his path. Cameron bypassed strong positions at Mere Mere by transporting his troops up-river on steamers, but he was compelled to attack a line of entrenchments across an isthmus at Rangiriri. The initial

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Some of the 183 Kingitanga Maori warriors captured at Rangiriri in November 1863, photographed *en route* to captivity in a prison hulk at Auckland. In September 1864 these men successfully escaped – not the only example of such resourcefulness during this war. They are wearing a typical mixture of traditional flax cloaks and European clothing.

British assaults failed, but the following morning, in circumstances that are still contested, the Maori surrendered. The last major action of the campaign took place at chief Rewi Maniopoto's *pa* at Orakau in March 1864. Although other Maori positions remained untaken, Grey opted to consolidate British gains, confiscating thousands of square miles of occupied Maori land.

The 'Good and Peaceful' movement, 1860s–70s

The stresses imposed on Maori society by the alienation of land manifested themselves in the emergence of a religious movement known as *Pai-Marire*, the 'Good and Peaceful'. Pai-Marire was a fusion of Maori traditional and Christian beliefs, and whilst its founding prophet had originally intended it to bridge the gap between the two, the faith's emphasis on Maori culture and on retaining the land soon gave it a militant edge. The movement's adherents were known to the settlers as 'Hau Haus', from a chant that formed part of their rituals. By 1864 Pai-Marire was spreading rapidly; its followers launched a number of attacks against British patrols, which ushered in a new wave of fighting that spread unevenly across the North Island, from Taranaki in the west to Tauranga in the east. From 1865 the British government, encouraged by a New Zealand colonial administration keen to exercise more control over its own affairs, sought to limit the role played by British regular troops, and much of the active campaigning was taken over by settler militia and volunteer units.

By 1868 many tribes had been defeated, and large areas of land had been confiscated. In that year Riwha Titokowaru of the Ngati Ruanui people in Taranaki, a veteran of earlier wars who had nonetheless tried to live peacefully with the whites, found the pressures on his territory so intolerable

Two wounded warriors left behind in the trenches when the Maori abandoned the 'Gate *pa*', Pukehinahina, after the battle of 29 April 1864; they both have blue blankets, probably given to them by the British troops. This sketch by Lt Robley gives some impression of the position from the inside; note the tunnel leading through to an adjacent trench, and the light outer palisade – little more than a screen.

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Artist's impression of New Zealand Militia in action close to the Maori leader Titokowaru's *pa* at Te Ngutu o Te Manu in summer 1868. The first of three attacks, on 10 August, failed badly. Note the officer, centre, wearing the same loose blue shirt as his men.

that he armed his followers, and in June 1868 they attacked a militia blockhouse at Turuturu Mokai. Colonial troops hurried to attack Titokowaru's *pa* at Te Ngutu o te Manu, but they found themselves out-generalled, and were defeated with heavy losses. Titokowaru followed up his victory by pushing back settler occupation, and actually succeeded in liberating a large slice of previously occupied territory.

Titokowaru built a new *pa* at Tauranga-Ika, which is widely believed to have been one of the most sophisticated fortresses constructed during the whole period of the wars. Nevertheless, when Colonial troops tentatively attacked it on 2 February 1869, the Maori quietly abandoned it. The reason why has never been conclusively revealed, although it was apparently connected to a sudden dramatic loss of *mana* on the part of Titokowaru, perhaps following an illicit relationship with the wife of another chief. Titokowaru and a small core of loyal followers slipped away, and, despite a vigorous pursuit, he escaped. He later joined a Maori settlement dedicated to peaceful resistance, and was only finally captured in 1886.

While Titokowaru's rebellion was under way, a separate outbreak occurred on the east coast of North Island. Te Kooti Rikirangi was a commoner of the Ngati Maru who had fought on the British side in some of the early Pai-Marire campaigns, but he had been arrested as a possible spy and exiled to the Chatham Islands. During his imprisonment Te Kooti studied the Bible and developed his own faith, known as *Ringatu*. On 4 July 1868 Te Kooti and 168 fellow prisoners made a dramatic escape from the Chatham Islands by commandeering a boat. Arriving back on the North Island, Te Kooti appealed to the Kingitanga tribes of the west to give him refuge, and also tried to open a dialogue with the government, but in both cases he was rebuffed.

Believing that he had no option but to fight, Te Kooti led a surprise attack on the settler township of Matawhero on 10 November 1868, killing 54 people – both settlers, and Maori loyal to the government. From there he withdrew inland to difficult country north of Hawke Bay, severely challenging Colonial forces which were already committed to Titokowaru's campaign on the opposite side of the island. Te Kooti proved to be a skilled and ruthless guerrilla leader. Nevertheless, in September 1869 Colonial troops surprised and overran his rather poorly-constructed *pa* at Te Porere – the last time a *pa* was defended in action during the New Zealand Wars. Te Kooti himself escaped, and in 1872 took refuge amongst tribes loyal to the Maori king Tawhaio, where he lived without further fighting until pardoned by the government in 1883.

The Titokowaru and Te Kooti campaigns ostensibly marked the last phase of the New Zealand Wars, which may thus be said to have ended in 1872. However, many historians argue that issues surrounding the struggle for land continued long after the last shots were fired. In 1867

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the prophets Te Whiti and Rongomai had established a settlement at Parihaka, in Taranaki, dedicated to peaceful resistance against the settlers, and Titokowaru allied himself to this after the collapse of his armed campaign. By the 1870s the settlement had increased to 2,000 people, and the government decided to suppress it. Te Whiti and Rongomai met their attempts with civil disobedience, until finally, on 5 November 1881, the village was stormed by the Armed Constabulary. The inhabitants did not resist; the settlement was destroyed, and Te Whiti and Rongomai were briefly imprisoned.

Whilst the taking of Parihaka is generally held to be the final chapter in the story, some historians date the final shots as late as 2 April 1916, when the pacifist prophet Rua Kenana's settlement at Mangapohatu in the Urewera district was raided and two Maori killed. Rua Kenana had refused to allow his followers to support the government's involvement in World War I, on the grounds that it was unjust to aid the British Crown in the light of the wrongs previously inflicted on the Maori people.

(Nevertheless, although exempt from military service, an unconfirmed total of perhaps 500 Maori did volunteer. The NZ Native Contingent served – as pioneers, and sometimes, of necessity, as infantry – both at Gallipoli and on the Western Front. In World War II the Maori were again exempted from conscription, but enough volunteers were forthcoming to create, and maintain, the 28th Maori Battalion of the 2nd New Zealand Expeditionary Force. This unit greatly distinguished itself in the Mediterranean campaigns.)

THE MAORI WARRIOR

The Maori possessed no organized army, and each man was a warrior – *toa* – according to his inclination and ability. In pre-colonial times Maori men fought on behalf of their extended kinship group, the *hapu* – whether to defend it against outside attack, to extend agricultural and hunting territory, to secure fishing rights or trade advantages – or to win *mana* or exact *utu* on a personal basis. Although members of a *hapu* fought together as a group, traditional Maori warfare was largely an individualistic affair, with warriors ritually displaying their prowess by fierce facial

An epilogue to the New Zealand Wars: the settlement at Parihaka that was broken up by the colonial government in 1881, despite its being dedicated to peaceful resistance. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

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expressions and chanting (the *haka*) before engaging in personal combat. Although the challenges posed by both the Musket and later Land Wars – in particular the advent of long-range weapons, and the need to counter European military tactics – influenced this approach, some elements of it would remain identifiable throughout the period.

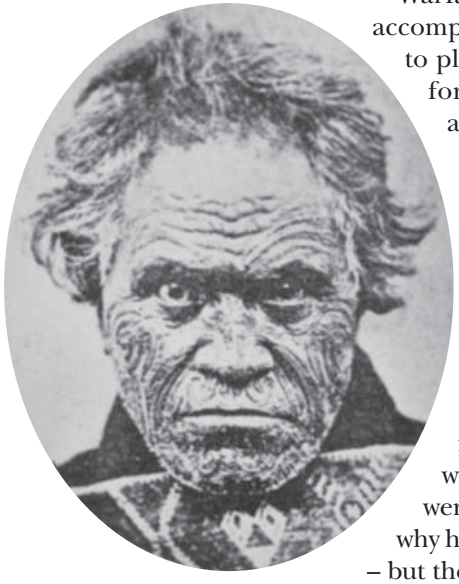
Leadership

Members of the *hapu* were led rather than commanded, and usually by a person of established rank whose *mana* reflected achievements as a warrior. Since *mana* was not always dependent on fighting prowess, however, some *ariki*, who enjoyed great prestige for other accomplishments but were not great military leaders, would defer in wartime to those in their family who were. By the 1860s leaders began to emerge on the strength of their military ability alone rather than tribal rank, the most notable being Te Kooti Rikirangi of the Ngati Maru people.

The success of even the most high-ranking Maori commander depended largely upon his personal charisma, however, since there were no laws or sanctions to compel his followers to obey him. In 1832 the missionary Henry Williams described an expedition during the Musket Wars. The various *hapu* involved marched at their own pace and according to their own inclinations, without acknowledging the leadership of a single commander. Groups of warriors constantly broke away to go fishing or forage for food, seeking out necessary roots and plants, and to make small raids and attacks on their own account. Although they came together to attack common objectives, many *hapu* began to drift away once they felt they had achieved enough in the campaign, although the most dedicated elements did not return home until a year later.

In its essentials, this account closely parallels others of tribal warfare in many cultures. In general, the wars against the white man did not involve such extensive campaigning, and the armies involved were both much smaller and arguably more focused in defence of their lands. (The white man won in the end as much by his ability to maintain consistent efforts as by superior supplies of weapons and ammunition.)

Warfare was not an entirely male preserve. Maori women regularly accompanied their menfolk to war, and while the majority were content to play a supporting role others were more active: loading muskets for men in the front line, exhorting and cheering them on, and occasionally even taking part in the fighting.



An elderly Maori man with complex *moko* facial tattooing. Note that the pattern is deeply incised, appearing more like scarification than simple colouration of the skin. This process was an ordeal, and the heavier and more complex the patterns the greater the prestige.

Tattoos

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of the appearance of Maori men in traditional society was the practice of tattooing, *ta moko*. Although not directly related to rank, tattooing was a long and painful process that reflected a degree of *mana*, and few Maori men of status or influence were without it. The tattooing itself was carried out by a *tohunga*, a skilled practitioner, who used a small chisel fashioned from albatross bone to cut the pattern into the skin by tapping this with a rod, rubbing the wounds with ash or vegetable dyes to stain them. The patterns of the tattoo were entirely individualistic, no two being exactly alike – one reason why heads taken in battle and smoke-dried remained readily identifiable – but they followed similar principles and patterns.

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The head was considered a sacred – *tapu* – part of the body, and the *moko* usually followed the lines and planes of the face, exaggerating frown-lines and creases, decorating the sides of the nose, and ornamenting the cheeks with swirls and circles. In pre-Colonial society most Maori men shaved their facial hair so as to present their *moko* fully, and those who wore their hair long tied it into a bun at the back of their head. The buttocks were often decorated with swirling designs known as *rape*, while the thighs were marked with long vertical lines. Maori women also wore *moko*, but it was largely limited to colouring the lips and to elegant patterns on the chin.

Tattooed warrior wearing a flax cloak with dogskin decoration around the upper border. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

Clothing

In traditional society Maori men often went into battle naked, both to display their tattoos and for ease of movement. Although the gradual spread of European clothing which followed contact with the *pakeha* led many warriors to cover themselves, some traditionalists continued to go into battle naked until very late in the cycle of conflict.

Otherwise, the most common item of dress for a warrior was either the *maro* or the *piupiu*. The *maro* was a front apron made from twisted thrums of flax, usually dyed black, and worn suspended from a thick belt, *tatua*, made from the same material. The *tatua* was usually strong enough to carry hand-weapons thrust into it, often at the back, leaving the hands free for pole-weapons or, later, firearms. The *piupiu* features in a number of contemporary 19th-century photographs and paintings. This was a kilt made from rows of flax leaves dressed into long thin rolls and dyed dark brown at regular intervals; although a popular element of traditional Maori culture today, it was apparently less popular as a war dress in the past, because it was difficult to move in without the flax swishing or rustling.

Flax also provided the raw material for the other two main elements of Maori dress: a shawl worn around the waist and hanging to the knees like a kilt, and a rectangular garment worn either short, as a cape, or long, as a fine cloak. The edges of both items were commonly decorated with finely patterned borders known as *taniko*, made by weaving together flax leaves dyed with various natural colours.

Cloaks were often beautifully made and decorated with a variety of different fibres, feathers or dog-skin. The *korowai*, for example, was a flax cloak decorated with black tassels made by dyeing flax fibre. These cloaks usually had a thick fringe of tassels at the neck, and were decorated across the whole surface with tassel streamers. Although such cloaks were hardly mentioned in Cook's description of mid-18th-century Maori, they seem to have grown in popularity by the middle of the 19th century, and are depicted worn by both men and women in many sketches and photographs. The *kahu huruhuru* was a flax cloak decorated with the feathers of various birds; the most prestigious type was the *kahu kiwi*, which was entirely covered on the outer face with brown kiwi feathers, and which was generally only worn by individuals enjoying high status. Another status item was the *kahu kuri*, which was decorated with the fur of the Polynesian

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dog. The skins were arranged either in stripes of contrasting light and dark colour, or sometimes in a chequered pattern. As protection against wet weather the Maori wore rain cloaks known as *pake* or *hieke*, in which the usually woven flax base was faced with rows of raw flax.

Maori *toa* wore these items according to their status and inclination throughout the period of the wars, although with greater interaction the use of European clothing became steadily more common. The practice of extensive tattooing had begun to die away by the middle of the 19th century, so that by the end of the wars only elderly men still displayed it; instead, many younger Maori followed the *pakeha* practice of growing facial hair. The traditional *maro* and *piupiu* gave way steadily to the *rapaki,* a waist-blanket of European manufacture. Some Maori adopted shirts or trousers, while waistcoats were popular because their pockets were convenient for carrying spare cartridges. Items of captured military uniform – particularly forage caps – were always popular among those keen to advertise the prowess they had displayed in acquiring them. Nevertheless, while European garments were often worn in combination with traditional Maori items, they never fully displaced them.

Traditional weapons

Most traditional Maori weapons were designed for close combat. Although a number of darts and long thrusting spears were used in pre-Colonial times, these were primarily employed when fighting around the palisades and ramparts of a *pa;* they were impractical in the sort of close-quarter individual combat that characterized an intertribal battle. Instead, the Maori used two types of pole-arms and a variety of clubs and axes.

A Maori man in typical transitional clothing of the mid-19th century. He wears a large flax cloak with a coloured border, over a European jacket and checked shirt. The *huia* feathers in his hair are a mark of status, and he carries a whalebone *patu kotiate.* He displays no *moko,* and has grown a full beard in the European style.

The pole-arms were the *taiaha* and the *tewhatewha*. Both weapons were beautifully crafted from hardwood, stood about shoulder high, and were wielded with both hands. The *taiaha* had a point at one end and a flat, spatulate blade at the other; wielded with great dexterity by a practiced warrior, it could be used either as a thrusting weapon or to deliver short, chopping blows. One common ploy was to feint at the enemy's upper body with the point; then, as he stepped back to respond, to strike with the flat blade to the top of the head – a blow that, if it struck home, was usually fatal. The spear-end was usually carved to resemble a head from above, with the point being a projecting tongue. The *taiaha* of men of rank were usually decorated with a collar of brightly-coloured feathers below the pointed head, and with a thick fringe of dog-hair below that.

The *tewhatewha* had a long handle, elegantly tapered to a point at one end, and flared out in a flat, fin-shaped blade at the other. Although resembling a European axe in profile, it was not the curved edge of the blade that was used for striking but rather the thicker back edge. The weapon was wielded like a two-handed axe, the blade waving to distract the opponent until the time came to strike. Many *tewhatewha* had a small hole drilled in the base of the blade through which was tied a bunch of feathers or leaves on a string which fluttered about in combat, further distracting the enemy. It also caught the sunlight and the eye when Maori commanders held the *tewhatewha* high to signal to their men. Like many wooden Maori weapons, the *tewhatewha* was often carved with swirling designs on the flat of the blade.

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Maori hand-weapons were generally known as *mere* or *patu* (a generic term meaning to strike or subdue). The most prized was the *mere pounamu*, which was made of greenstone. Greenstone was very difficult to work effectively with traditional Maori tools, and possession of a greenstone *mere* was generally considered evidence of great *mana*. The weapon itself was typically between 10 and 12in long (25–30cm), with a handle at one end – often pierced through to take a wrist-thong of flax or dog-skin – and swelling into a rounded, flat blade at the other. Because of the hardness of the stone, *mere pounamu* could be worked to a thinner, keener edge than most other Maori hand-weapons. Typically, a warrior would jab with the end of the *mere* or strike sideways at the temple, neck or rib-cage of an opponent; a fierce blow with a greenstone *mere* could split a skull wide open, or even decapitate a victim. Clubs of a similar shape were also made of other stones and of whalebone, although neither possessed all the qualities of the *mere pounamu*.

While not quite so effective as the *mere pounamu*, other *patu* were more readily obtainable. The *patu wahaika* was a hardwood club with a profile rather like a European bill-hook blade, while the *patu kotiate* had a characteristic 'violin' profile and was usually made of whalebone. The notches in the side of the *kotiate* were used to catch and deflect enemy weapons in combat, but could also inflict gruesome ripping injuries when they struck flesh.

The impact of European trade had a significant influence on Maori weapon technology, and not merely with regard to firearms. An early staple of white traders was the iron axe- or hatchet-head. The Maori quickly recognized its advantages over traditional cutting weapons, and since most traders sold the heads without handles the Maori improvised their own. A short handle of wood or whalebone turned the blade into a tomahawk weapon called *patiti*. Whalebone *patiti* handles were often ornately carved, particularly around the butt end. The same blades were also often fitted to a long handle of either wood or whalebone, turning them into a two-handed weapon known as *kakauroa*.

The use of iron axeheads became commonplace by the 1860s, and many warriors would carry a *patiti* thrust into their belts as a back-up weapon to their firearms. They did not displace traditional *patu* entirely, and in particular the *mere pounamu* remained a highly prized weapon throughout the wars. Te Kooti, the last great Maori guerrilla leader, carried a whalebone *kotiate* with him throughout his campaigns.

Elderly Maori chief (from the inscription 'Hau Hau' on the original print, a supporter of the Pai-Marire movement) carrying a *taiaha* pole-weapon decorated with a collar of parrot-feathers and dog-hair. His face shows whorls of tattooing on the cheeks above his beard. The shaggy outer layer of raw flax identifies his garment as a waterproof cloak. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection.)

Firearms

The guns that the Maori first acquired in the 1810s–1820s were mostly either British smooth-bore flintlock 'Brown Bess' muskets, which were being dumped on the international market following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, or various civilian hunting guns of similar quality. While some were undoubtedly genuine ex-military issue, others were made for the trade market and were notoriously poor in quality, with ill-fitting parts, weak springs and sometimes dangerously worn barrels. Nevertheless, because they offered a distinct tactical advantage over traditional hand-weapons they were eagerly sought by the Maori, who called their flintlocks *ngutu-parera*, 'duck-bill', from the shape of the frizzen. The Maori often customized their firearms by carving typically ornate

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Paitini Wa Tapeka, a veteran of the battles of Te Tapiri and Orakau in 1864, poses years later wearing his *piupiu* kilt and carrying his decorated *taiaha* – here, with the flat end raised ready to deliver a chopping blow.

patterns into the stock, and they sometimes attempted to rectify obvious mechanical defects.

From the 1850s double-barrelled percussion-lock shotguns, known as *tupara*, became widely available. These became very popular in preference to the old flintlock muskets; in bush-fighting the practical range of engagement was usually limited, and the double-barrelled guns obviously offered a higher rate of fire. Few traders troubled to supply plentiful ammunition, powder, percussion caps or spare parts, however, and throughout the wars the Maori struggled to obtain reliable supplies of all of these necessities. Percussion caps were sometimes made by fitting match-heads into boot eyelets, while any scrap paper was liable to be pressed into service for cartridges. According to Sir J.E. Alexander:

> Sometimes five nails were tied together, heads [to] points, also plugs of hard *puriri* wood coated with tea-chest lead. I also heard of bullets being cast in the bowls of tobacco pipes, a row of these being laid in the ground and the lead run into them. The means of making rough powder are not wanting in New Zealand, but percussion caps are a great difficulty. When I was in command in Auckland, a Maori came in and offered privately a shopkeeper three hundred pounds in gold for six hundred boxes of caps, the usual selling price of which was eighteen pence. This was a sore temptation but it was resisted.

All of these factors contrived to limit the effectiveness of Maori fire. Misfires were common – all the more so in wet weather – and the uneven quality of powder and irregular shot often made long-range fire unpredictable. Nevertheless, although they were always outclassed by the firepower available to their British enemies, the Maori fully understood the limitations of their weapons, and developed tactics which to some extent mitigated them. For example, overlapping close-range fire-zones created nearly impenetrable killing fields around their *pa*s, while bush ambushes from carefully chosen positions maximized the impact of the first volley. All in all, considering the difficulties they faced, their achievements throughout the wars remain remarkable.

The Maori usually carried their improvised cartridges in home-made cartridge boxes made by drilling a double row of holes in a block of wood, then adding a wrap-around flap and belt from leather. It was not uncommon for a *toa* to have two or three such belts slung around his body, while loose powder was carried in carved whalebone powder horns slung over the shoulder on a flax cord.

Logistics and transport

During the Musket Wars the various tribal armies often ranged across great distances. They set out with supplies of sweet potatoes, imported potatoes and dried fish, some being carried by women and children who accompanied them. However, these would not have lasted more than a week or two, so the pace of any expedition was dictated by the need to forage. During the wars with the *pakeha* supply was less of an issue because warriors operated closer to their home areas, for shorter periods at a time, and stockpiled supplies in *pa*s before an action.

(continued on page 33)

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PRE-COLONIAL WARFARE

1: Warrior defending a *pa*

2: Naked warrior

3: *Ariki* chief

A

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THE 'MUSKET' & 'FLAGSTAFF' WARS, 1820s–40s
1: *Ariki*
2: Young warrior
3: Warrior with musket

B

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BRITISH TROOPS, 1845
1: Militiaman
2: Private, 58th Regt, marching order
3: Company officer, 58th Regt

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BRITISH TROOPS, 1860s
1: Private, Royal Artillery, 1863
2: Private, 12th Regt
3: Company officer, 65th Regt

D

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***PAI-MARIRE* MOVEMENT, 1860s**
1: Maori warrior, *c.* 1865
2: Maori woman warrior
3: *Niu* flagpole with *te whepu* flag
4a–4f: Maori flags

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FOREST RANGERS, 1860s
1: Major von Tempsky
2: Private, Forest Rangers
3: Maori *toa*, late 1860s

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MILITIA & VOLUNTEERS, 1860s
1: Militia officer
2: Private, Militia infantry
3: Trooper, Kai-Iwi Cavalry Volunteers

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NEW ZEALAND ARMED CONSTABULARY, 1868–1870s
1: Constable, 'shawl dress'
2: Constable, bush dress
3: Officer

H

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War canoes, *waka taua*, were a prominent feature of pre-Colonial warfare in a terrain seamed with rivers and framed by coastline. A large *waka* would be made from a single tree by a *hapu* working together; it could be as much as 130ft (40m) long, requiring 80 paddlers. War canoes were carved with great ceremony, and were characterized by a decorated head and ornately fashioned upright tailboard. As late as 1864, at the battle of Moutoa fought between Pai-Marire and pro-government Maori on an island in the middle of a river, the Pai-Marire war party had arrived by canoe. British and Colonial troops occasionally used friendly or captured canoes to transport themselves by river.

Flags

The Maori appreciated the significance of British flags as symbols of sovereignty and allegiance early on, and adopted them extensively in the 1850s. The Maori king had a flag designed for him that was considered to embody his *mana*, while flags formed a crucial part of Pai-Marire ritual. They were displayed on flagpoles or masts known as *niu*, around which the movement's most important ceremonies were performed. These flags varied widely in size; they were usually decorated with stars and crosses and perhaps a religious phrase, all denoting adherence to Pai-Marire. Important individuals had their own flags that they carried with them on campaign, or sent ahead of them as a recruiting device, and which were usually unfurled and flown over their *pa*s in battle. (For examples: Titokowaru's was a red triangular pennant 6ft 7in (2m) long, with a white plain cross centred at the hoist end and a white T-shaped arrangement of a down-curved crescent above a vertical bar in the centre. A rectangular red flag flown over the Gate *pa* in 1864 had three white motifs in a slanting line from top left to bottom right: a small plain cross; a large down-curving crescent; and a small four-point 'NATO'-style star. For other examples, see Plate E.)

A Maori *toa* wearing a flax outer cloak decorated with dogskin over a heavily decorated waist-shawl, and holding what appears to be a P1853 Enfield percussion-lock rifle. (Tim Ryan Collection)

Kupapa Maori

Throughout the wars, many Maori groups allied themselves with the Crown to fight fellow Maori. Although in hindsight these groups – known as *kupapa* – have been accused of 'collaborating' in the dispossession of the Maori people as a whole, this is a wholly modern concept, and at the time their situation was much more complex. (Again, the same applied in many other contemporary colonial contexts where no sense of nationhood existed; just one example is provided by the many Apache scouts who were central to Gens Crook's and Miles's successes against reservation-breaking Western and Chiricahua Apaches in the 1870s–80s.)

At a time when most Maori identified themselves purely by their local affiliations, some groups chose their allegiances according to existing feuds, siding with the British against old enemies to right perceived wrongs dating back to the Musket Wars or earlier. Later, others did so in the hope of preserving their lands, independent authority and economic benefits – exactly the same motives as those they fought against. Their contribution to the British and Colonial cause was immense; but nonetheless, even the most dedicated of them – like the Wanganui of the renowned Kepa te Rangihiwhinui, who was an officer in the NZAC and known to the *pakeha* as Major Kemp – found that once the fighting

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Mihaka Tumuakuingi, a *kupapa* or white-allied Maori, in typical war costume of the 1860s. He has been issued an Enfield rifle, a crossbelt with cartridge box and cap pouch, and a waistbelt with expense pouch and frogged bayonet scabbard. Note that he still carries a hatchet for close-quarter work. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

was over and hostile groups had been safely contained, their own lands were still vulnerable to settler ambitions.

During the campaigns in the southern end of North Island in the 1840s, the British 58th Regiment issued their *kupapa* allies with dark blue smocks embroidered with 'VR' (for Victoria Regina) in yellow on the back, to distinguish them from the enemy. For the most part, however, the *kupapa* fought in their ordinary dress, but since they were often supplied with government weapons they could often be distinguished by the greater prevalence of military firearms and cartridge boxes. By the 1860s, too, many affected items of European dress or uniform – as, by then, did many of their enemies.

Pakeha Maori

From the earliest days of European settlement in New Zealand many whites chose to live among the Maori, choosing Maori wives and following Maori leaders. They were generally welcomed for the trading contacts and knowledge of firearms that they brought with them. As conflict intensified, many of these individuals were faced with a test of loyalties. By the 1860s there were many '*pakeha* Maori', a large number of whom were deserters from the military garrison. Some – like the most famous of them, Kimble Bent, formerly of HM 57th Regiment, who followed Titokowaru – refused to fight their former comrades. Others – such as the Irishman Charles Kane, a deserter from the 18th Regiment – were instead motivated by a passionate hatred of the British Army. Kane took part in the attack on the Turuturu Mokai blockhouse; ironically, he was later suspected of treachery and murdered by his Maori comrades.

BRITISH TROOPS

At the time of the Treaty of Waitangi the British regarded New Zealand as an adjunct to their colonies in Australia, and it only became a colony in its own right in 1841. Because of this British troops in the early conflicts were usually despatched from, and returned to, Australia. The following British infantry regiments, listed chronologically, were deployed in New Zealand during the period of the wars:

80th (Staffordshire Volunteers): 1840–45 (withdrawn before outbreak of fighting)
96th Regiment: 1841–1847
99th (Lanarkshire Volunteers): 1845–47
58th (Rutlandshire): 1845–58
65th (Yorkshire North Riding): 1846–65
12th (East Suffolk):1860–66
40th (Somersetshire): 1860–66
57th (West Middlesex): 1860–66
14th (Buckinghamshire): 1860–67
43rd (Monmouthshire): 1863–66
50th Regiment: 1863–66
70th (Surrey): 1863–66
18th (Royal Irish): 1863–70
68th (Durham) Light Infantry: 1864–66

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No Imperial cavalry regiments were posted to New Zealand during this period, although various detachments of the Royal Artillery, Royal Corps of Sappers & Miners (1845–47), Royal Engineers, Army Medical Department, Army Hospital Corps, Commissariat Staff Corps and Military Train were present at different times.

At the start of the wars in the 1840s a British infantry regiment consisted of a single battalion comprising six service companies and four depot companies, the depot companies remaining at home to raise recruits. Each service battalion consisted of a headquarters – a lieutenant-colonel and a major – and six companies. Each company was commanded by a captain with two lieutenants, NCOs, and a nominal strength of 91 privates, although companies were often under-strength in the field. One company was still designated the Grenadier company and formed the right-flank company when the battalion was deployed in line; grenadiers no longer carried grenades, but were considered the elite of the battalion. The company on the left of the line was designated the Light company, and was trained in skirmishing techniques, although by the 1840s the distinction was increasingly spurious, as more and more commanding officers trained all their men in skirmishing tactics.

This system prevailed at the time of the Flagstaff War and other troubles of the 1840s. It was revised following the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny (1854–59). A second battalion was raised for many Line regiments, and the strength of a battalion was standardized at 12 companies. The proportion of depot to field companies fluctuated, however, from eight service and four depot after the Crimea, to ten service and two depot in the 1860s, and again eight service companies in the 1870s. Each service company consisted of roughly 100 NCOs and men; in 1860 the distinction between Grenadier, Light and Centre companies was abolished.

Uniforms & equipment, 1840s

In 1845 British troops were still fighting in uniforms only slightly changed from the Napoleonic Wars. The enlisted ranks in Line regiments wore a red single-breasted coatee with tails at the back, regimental facing colours on the collar and cuffs, and heavy trimming with white tape ('lace'). Headgear was the recently-authorized 'Albert pattern' shako of tilted, tapering cylindrical shape with peaks front and back, and a brass regimental badge on the front. For everyday duties a more practical uniform, known as 'undress', was permitted, although its use in the field was largely at the discretion of commanding officers. In some theatres troops were sent into battle in uniforms that made almost no concession to service conditions, and drawings do show full-dress uniforms worn on garrison duties in New Zealand; however, undress seems to have been worn invariably when in the field.

For infantry this consisted of a 'shell jacket', a single-breasted garment cut straight around the waist, of scarlet for officers and plain red for other ranks (scarlet was not adopted for infantry ORs until 1872). For ORs the plain round cuffs, collar and shoulder straps were of the regimental facing colour (for example, of the regiments most heavily engaged in 1845, the 58th's facing colour was black and the 99th's yellow). Trousers were either white for summer wear or a very dark grey 'Oxford mixture' with a red welt down the outer seam for winter issue, of which the heavier winter pattern were almost invariably worn in the field.

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Detail from a watercolour by Maj Cyprian Bridge, showing the attack on Hone Heke's Puketutu *pa* on 8 May 1845. A company of the 58th Regt are lined up at left, in 1829-regulation flat-crowned forage caps, shell jackets, and whitened equipment (see Plate C), ready to support the skirmishers in the centre. At right foreground, Lt Egerton RN and a detachment from HMS *North Star* launch Congreve rockets. Egerton wears a black top hat and a blue tailcoat and trousers; his seamen have black round hats, short blue jackets, white shirts and blue trousers. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ)

The other ranks' headgear was the forage cap. Regulations of 1829 specified that these be made of wool, dark blue for Line regiments and dark green for Light Infantry, with a full crown, a coloured band and a tuft on top. Regiments designated 'Royal' had a red band while all other Line regiments displayed their facing colour, and Highland regiments had a diced band in white, red and green. These caps were officially replaced in 1834 with a plainer type with a less full crown, popularly known as a 'pork pie' cap – these were plain blue or green, with no coloured bands. However, the older, banded type continued to be worn in the field for many years, perhaps alongside the newer design; watercolours of the fighting in 1845 by Maj Bridge of the 58th show the old style with the band in that regiment's black facing, and the 99th with the Highland diced band. Other sketches, by Sgt Williams also of the 58th, appear to show the 'pork pie' type.

The other ranks' equipment was also largely unaltered from the Napoleonic period. On his back the soldier wore a knapsack made of black lacquered canvas, modified in 1829 from a pattern first issued in 1805. Notoriously uncomfortable, it was reinforced inside with a wooden frame, and held in place by white leather straps over the shoulders that were connected by a further strap across the chest. On long marches in hot weather a fully laden soldier could expect his back to chafe from the knapsack's frame, and the straps to restrict the circulation to his arms and pull tight across his chest. This knapsack was deeply unpopular, and many sensible commanders allowed their men to campaign without it where possible. Blankets and greatcoats were officially supposed to be strapped to the knapsack but, where permitted, many soldiers who had abandoned the knapsack used its straps to carry these. Neither Maj Bridge nor Sgt Williams show knapsacks in the field in New Zealand.

Otherwise, a soldier wore a broad white leather crossbelt over the left shoulder supporting at his right hip a black leather cartridge box holding 60 rounds of ammunition, while another belt over the right shoulder, showing a regimental metal 'breast-plate', carried his frogged bayonet at the left hip. When in the field a white or off-white canvas haversack (the so-called 'bread-bag', used to carry the daily ration) was also slung

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over the right shoulder to the left hip. Water was carried in a small blue-painted wooden cask, the 'Italian pattern' canteen, on yet another crossways shoulder strap.

In 1839 the Army had adopted the first percussion-lock smooth-bore musket for infantry use, and this was superseded by an improved pattern in 1842. Although these percussion weapons were less susceptible to misfires than the old flintlock they were still far from ideal – effective range was limited to 140 yards, and the rate of fire was only two rounds per minute in ideal conditions. A determined enemy could easily cover the final hundred yards or so to close with a soldier before he could reload. Not until 1851 was the Belgian-designed Minié rifled musket adopted, thus greatly improving the accurate range.

The officers' shell-jacket was scarlet with regimental facings and brass shoulder-scales. Their forage caps were dark blue (green for Light Infantry), immediately distinguishable by a black leather peak, with a black oakleaf-patterned band for non-Royal regiments and a diced band for Highlanders. The regimental number was worn in gold wire embroidery on the front. Winter-issue trousers were as for the men. A white sword belt with regimental breast-plate was worn over the right shoulder, suspending the 1822 pattern infantry officers' sword in a frogged scabbard on the left hip.

Campaigning in New Zealand involved marching through thick bush in all weathers, which took a heavy toll on uniforms. Sergeant Hattaway noted that the 58th were 'ragged, tattered and torn, many without boots or [with these] tied on their feet with flax, their pants of many colours; blankets and greatcoats reduced in size to repair their continuations'.

NCOs and men of the 68th (Durham) Light Infantry demonstrating variations of field equipment in 1866; compare with Plate D2. The privates in the centre wear their greatcoats rolled into a bundle with the sleeves tied together around the body, from left shoulder to right armpit (see Plate D3); note the messtin attached behind the rolled coat. The sergeant on the right wears his blanket *en banderole,* in a waterproof cover. As Light Infantry the 68th wore the buglehorn forage-cap badge above the regimental number, and NCOs wore their white chevrons on both sleeves; in Line regiments they were worn only on the right. (Tim Ryan Collection)

The 1850s–60s

In the 15-year lull before hostilities broke out again a number of significant changes took place in British Army uniforms. The old coatee finally gave way to a full-skirted tunic which, from 1857, was single-breasted, with the collar, cuffs and shoulder straps in the regimental facing colour, and with a vertical cuff-flap decorated with three buttons and lace. In the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny, however, there was a greater willingness to adopt more practical uniforms in the field, and in fact the new tunic was seldom worn in action.

In New Zealand, the 40th Regiment were ordered to parade in shell-jackets or tunics for the attack on the Puketakauere *pa* in June 1860, but this may have been the last time red was extensively worn in battle in New Zealand. Within a few months most troops had been issued with a loose single-breasted jacket with a pocket in the right breast, made of very dark blue serge; this was popularly called a 'jumper'.

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An officer who commanded at Auckland from the end of 1860, J.E. Alexander, explained the logic; Alexander was a firm believer in the morale effect of red, but noted that

> Troops were now frequently paraded and inspected, and the skirts of the men's great coats were cut off to enable them to wear them in skirmishing in the bush and scrub. This plan I did not think well of, and afterwards when preparing some of the 14th Regiment for fighting I gave them blue smocks over which the great coat was worn, neatly rolled horse-collar fashion, and ready for the evening's bivouac; a man cannot sleep well if his legs are not covered with the skirts of his coat.

The blue jumper established the pattern for all British troops – both regular and Colonial – in the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s. It was worn with the dark blue 'pork pie' forage cap with the regimental number in brass on the front (dark green, with the buglehorn badge, for Light Infantry). Trousers were dark blue with a red welt down the outer seam. Some regiments – including the 43rd, 57th and 68th – wore black leather leggings fastened with straps at the side, while others followed the Crimean practice of tucking their trousers into their socks.

By the 1860s the standard infantry weapon was the 1853 Enfield percussion-lock rifle. Sighted to a maximum of 1,200 yards, it had an accurate range in battle conditions of at least 200 yards, and a considerably improved rate and reliability of fire. Ammunition was carried in a cartridge box on a wide crossbelt worn over the left shoulder, with a small pouch on the front for percussion caps, and in another 'expense' pouch worn on the right-hand side of a new waist belt for the bayonet. The canteen and haversack remained unchanged, but while the knapsack remained official issue it was worn less and less in the field. Instead, soldiers carried their kit wrapped in the body of their greatcoats, which were then rolled up and the sleeves tied crossways around the body. Brown blankets were also carried 'en banderole'.

Although some sort of blue undress remained the norm for officers, photographs suggest a considerable variation between regiments. Officers of the 18th Regiment seem to have worn the same style of jumper as their men, while a photograph of Lt Waller of the 57th shows him wearing a loose blue blouse buttoned down the front, with a conspicuous breast pocket on the right side. Officers of the 12th Regiment preferred a blue patrol jacket, fastened at the front with concealed hooks-and-eyes, edged all round with flat black mohair braid, with plain black braiding on the collar, and black shoulder cords. Officers of the 50th, however, appear

Soldiers guarding prisoners in Rutland Stockade, Wanganui. The officer (right foreground, with sword slings visible) wears a similar blue 'jumper' to his men. Some of the off-duty privates seem to be wearing their white drill jackets and red knitted nightcaps. (Tim Ryan Collection)

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to have anticipated the standard dress of the 1870s in wearing a patrol jacket with additional rows of black braid across the chest ending in drop-loops, a more ornate 'looped' cuff design, braided back-seams, and no shoulder cords.

Standard headgear was the low-crowned infantry officer's 1855 pattern forage cap, which was dark blue with a flat black leather peak 'squared' at the corners. The broad band was in patterned black (red for Royal regiments, diced for Scottish); there was a black cord boss centred on the crown surrounded by a flower-shaped 'figure' of black lace loops. The regimental number and/or Light Infantry buglehorn badge was worn in gold embroidery at the front.

Officers of the 68th DLI at Tauranga in 1864. They and the NCOs at extreme left and right both wear blue 'jumper' uniforms, but are differentiated by their respective types of forage cap. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ)

The 1822 pattern infantry officers' sword in a steel scabbard was still worn, but now suspended on slings from a white sword belt that was usually worn around the waist under the jacket. Most officers also armed themselves with a revolver, normally a 5-shot Adams, which was usually carried on the left in a brown leather holster slung on a narrow shoulder strap. Sketches suggest that in the field officers often supplied themselves with haversacks and water bottles, and carried their blankets or greatcoats rolled and strapped around their bodies.

Royal Artillery

The first gunners to serve in New Zealand were a small detachment of Honourable East India Company Artillery. When outside India these generally followed British undress styles: a blue shell jacket with scarlet collar and cuffs and yellow shoulder cords, blue trousers with a wide red stripe, and a blue forage cap with red band.

The first detachment of Royal Artillery arrived from Australia in 1847. In 1861, C Battery, 4th Brigade was posted to New Zealand and took part in the Taranaki, Waikato and Tauranga campaigns. Gunners wore a blue 'jumper' like the infantry, blue trousers with a wide red stripe, and a blue forage cap with a yellow band. Officers wore a loose blue patrol jacket with black braiding around the edges, on the cuffs and back seams, and in rows across the front ending in trefoil loops.

Because of the chronic shortage of mounted troops a detachment of Royal Artillery were deployed as cavalry and issued with swords that they carried attached to their saddles. Famously, at the battle of Rangiriri in November 1863, 36 of them were dismounted and ordered to support the infantry attacks on foot. They carried their swords and revolvers, although there is at least one reference to some of them carrying carbines; this would have been of the Snider Artillery pattern. (Their attack was repulsed, and their commanding officer, Capt Henry Mercer, was killed.)

Throughout the 1840s and 1860s the standard Royal Artillery field pieces remained muzzle-loaders, but in 1861 Capt Mercer had introduced three 12-pdr Armstrong breech-loaders in the Taranaki campaign.

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A cross-section of British troops in New Zealand in the 1860s; Gen Sir Duncan Cameron (centre right, hands in pockets) poses in the field during his 1863–64 Waikato campaign, surrounded by British regulars, local militia and Volunteers. A tall Royal Artillery officer in a braided patrol jacket stands left of the general, and RA sergeants and gunners are seated at the left. At front centre is a small Coehorn mortar, with its shells to the left of it. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ)

Although these proved to be more effective against Maori defences, able to penetrate trenches to a greater degree than muzzle-loaders, the Army establishment was not convinced of their advantages, and the experiment was discontinued on the grounds of cost. Not until the 1890s would the British Army convert wholesale to breech-loading artillery pieces.

Two 40-pdr siege guns were also despatched to the Waikato from Australia, but proved so cumbersome to transport (the carriages were drawn by bullocks) that they were only used in action at the Gate *pa*. More popular were light Coehorn mortars, which could easily be transported on carts or carried, stretcher-style, with wooden poles, and which had sufficient elevation to lob shells directly into Maori trenches. The spherical Coehorn shells were sometimes used by assault parties as hand grenades.

The Military Train

Throughout the 1860s there was a shortage of available transport, so equipment and supplies were carried either on pack-mules or on hired civilian bullock-drawn drays.

Detachments of the Military Train (formed originally as the Land Transport Corps) served in New Zealand between 1861 and 1867, and were several times deployed as cavalry. Enlisted ranks wore the habitual blue jumper, dark blue trousers with a white stripe, and a forage cap with a white band. One watercolour shows a Military Train officer in a blue patrol jacket with flat braid across the front, a dark blue forage cap with badge, and light blue trousers with a white stripe – though this might simply be an artistic flourish, since the regulation colour was dark blue.

The Royal Navy

Royal Navy ships from the Australia station played an extensive part in both the 1840s and 1860s wars, not merely supporting Army movements in coastal and riverine districts but also landing Naval Brigade detachments to fight on land. In the 1840s the frigates HMS *Calliope*, *Castor* and *North Star* and the sloops *Driver* (the first steam-powered ship in New Zealand waters), *Hazard* and *Racecourse* were all involved at various times. The more extensive campaigning of the 1860s involved HMS *Cordelia*, *Curacoa*, *Eclipse*, *Esk*, *Falcon*, *Fawn*, *Harrier*, *Miranda*, *Niger*, *Orpheus*, *Pelorus* and *Victoria*. Because of the limited Royal Artillery presence the Navy made a significant contribution to British firepower by landing a variety of ships' guns, including 32-pdrs for the attack on Ruapekapeka, and 40-pdrs for the bombardment of Mere Mere in the Waikato in 1863. In the 1840s the *North Star* had also landed two Congreve rocket troughs, which were used to bombard the *pa*s of Puketuku and Ruapekapeka.

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Militia and military settlers

Because of the limited number of Imperial troops available, and because of the potential for conflict with the Maori, the colonial government of New Zealand made provision for a settler citizen force early in its history. The Militia Act of 1845 imposed a duty on all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 65 to train for 28 days annually, and to be available when called upon to serve in defence of their home district within a radius of 25 miles of the local police station. In 1845 small detachments of militiamen volunteered to serve as pioneers during the Flagstaff War, while the Wellington Militia took part in skirmishing in the Hutt River campaign. At this stage no special uniforms were provided by the government, but the 58th Regiment supplied shirts, trousers, forage caps, weapons and equipment.

By 1860 many more Militia units had been formed, reflecting the growth in the settler population. They took part in the Taranaki and Waikato campaigns largely in support of Imperial troops; but from 1865, as the British government sought to limit the role of Imperial troops and the New Zealand administration exerted more control over its own affairs, their importance increased.

Essentially, the Militia units of the 1860s followed the Imperial pattern in terms of uniforms and weapons. The men were issued with dark blue 'jumpers', blue trousers with a red welt, and blue 'pork pie' forage caps. Many preferred not to wear the jumper, however, and instead wore a loose blue shirt that appears to have been a shade lighter than the trousers and jumper. Equipment was of the infantry pattern, and greatcoats were worn rolled across the body. Some units sported badges on their forage caps, others did not.

There seems to have been considerable minor variation in the uniforms of Militia officers. Some wore a plain blue patrol jacket, edged in black braid but without chest-braiding, while others wore a more ornate style similar to the officers of HM 50th Regiment (see above). Some wore tunics trimmed with silver rather than black braid; this may have been a dress uniform not worn in the field, but silver shoulder cords were common. A blue forage cap with a silver patterned band and black leather peak, and a silver cord boss and figured braid on the crown, seems to have been the most usual form of headgear; some officers seem to have worn a cap with black rather than silver braid, or without the peak. Many, no doubt, preferred to wear the same loose and practical blue shirt as their men in the difficult conditions of field service. Weapons were the infantry officers' sword, and a revolver worn either from a shoulder sling like the regulars or sometimes on a waist belt.

Since confiscated land was always likely to be vulnerable, the government encouraged settlement

Militia infantry private in typical field dress of the 1860s – a loose blue shirt worn with a military-issue forage cap and trousers. His kit is bundled inside his greatcoat, which is tied by its sleeves across his chest. For a reconstruction of this figure see Plate G2. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ)

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by ex-military personnel. As early as 1847 ex-soldiers, then called Fencibles, were settled around Auckland. In 1863 more than 2,500 'military settlers' were raised in Australia for service in the Waikato Militia, and offered land as a reward once the fighting was over. They were armed and equipped as other militia units.

Volunteers

In addition to the Militia, numbers of Volunteer units were raised among the settlers. Volunteer service offered immunity from militia service, as well as higher rates of pay and a greater social cachet – many Volunteers were nominally enrolled in militias but preferred to serve with the Volunteers instead. Volunteers could form their own units and choose their own uniforms. Service was often short, as men were required to serve for only three months and units were often disbanded once local emergencies had passed.

Although most Volunteer units adopted the ubiquitous blue, some infantry units styled themselves Rifles and adopted the grey tweed uniforms that were then popular among the Rifle Volunteer movement in England. Service in cavalry units was considered particularly dashing, and tended to attract the settler gentry. Most Volunteer cavalry units wore some variation on the theme of a blue jacket either buttoned or fastened with hooks-and-eyes, a blue forage cap, buff Bedford cord riding breeches and black boots; some units wore silver braid on their tunics and forage caps. They were armed with swords and Snider carbines, and standard equipment belts were brown. Some Volunteer cavalrymen posed for photographs wearing fashionable red loose-fitting 'Garibaldi' shirts, but these may have proved too conspicuous in the field. Most officers wore a dark blue patrol jacket with some style of black braid around the edges and in rows across the front.

Major Frederick Gustavus von Tempsky, the most famous officer of the Forest Rangers. A Prussian veteran with a colourful past, he is portrayed here in the patrol-jacket uniform of an officer of the New Zealand Armed Constabulary (and apparently with a black mourning-band round his left arm). Von Tempsky joined the newly-raised NZAC after the disbandment of the Forest Rangers late in 1867; he would be killed in August 1868 during the attack on Titokowaru's *pa* at Te Ngutu o Te Manu. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

The Forest Rangers

In August 1863 the government advertised for fresh Volunteers to join a new unit, which was being formed for counter-guerrilla work in the bush and for 'operations not in the power of ordinary troops'. The unit was to be known as the Forest Rangers and commanded by a settler, Capt William Jackson. The pay offered was three times that of the militia, and Jackson was able to raise two companies; altogether, 365 men would pass through the ranks during its service. The second company was commanded by a flamboyant Prussian adventurer named Von Tempsky.

The Forest Rangers became the most famous of the Volunteer units. They specialized in patrolling the deep bush where regular and militia troops were disadvantaged, and in attacking Maori settlements or mounting ambushes. They wore a practical loose blue shirt with dark blue trousers and forage caps. Von Tempsky armed his own men with a 9in Bowie fighting knife that proved invaluable in the bush. Photographs suggest that the Rangers were initially armed with 1853 Enfield rifles, but these were soon replaced with the 1856 breech-loading .537 Calisher & Terry carbine. Originally designed to be reloaded by a cavalryman in the saddle, this weapon, with a primitive bolt action, proved particularly suited to bush fighting. Most Rangers also armed themselves with revolvers; von Tempsky himself advocated the .36 Colt Navy pattern, which carried six rounds rather than the usual five of British weapons.

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The Rangers took part in more than 30 major actions and dozens of skirmishes before they were officially disbanded in October 1867.

New Zealand Armed Constabulary

By late 1867 it appeared that the New Zealand Wars were coming to a close, and the government authorized the formation of a new permanent force in an attempt to simplify the confusing Volunteer and Militia system. It was called the New Zealand Armed Constabulary, and the officers were given police rather than military ranks, but in fact it was the country's first professional army. It was to be heavily involved in the last major outbreaks, and at its height consisted of nine 'divisions', each between 60 and 100 men strong. These included two Maori units (under *pakeha* officers) raised from among the Arawa tribe, and employed in the Te Kooti campaign. There was also an artillery detachment with 6-pdr Armstrong guns, and various mounted detachments.

The Constabulary were issued with a dark blue jacket with a single vertical pocket-slit in the left breast, black braiding around the collar and edges and above the pointed cuffs, sometimes black shoulder cords, and white metal buttons. The forage cap was dark blue with a black oakleaf-patterned band, top tuft and crown-piping, a flat peak, and a white metal badge. Trousers were dark blue for foot duties, or Bedford cord breeches for mounted duties. Weapons were the Snider rifle and sword-bayonet, or the Snider carbine and a sword for mounted men. Another style of forage cap, with angled peaks back and front, was also authorized; photographs suggest that this was worn by some divisions on garrison duty, but it seems to have been unpopular.

Officers wore a peakless 'pillbox' forage cap with a deep, patterned silver band, and a domed silver boss on top surrounded by 'figured' braid. Their dark blue patrol jacket was edged with black braid and had infantry-style frogging across the front, ending in trefoil loops. Photographs show some minor variations between the uniforms even of men of the same rank; details of tailoring might differ, and while shoulder cords were officially silver some are clearly black. Officers often posed for photographs with their jackets fastened at the top only, so as to show off their silver-laced blue waistcoats underneath, but they were probably fastened up in action. Officers' trousers were dark blue with a black stripe.

In fact, however, by the time the Titokowaru and Te Kooti campaigns had dissolved into long counter-guerrilla sweeps through the bush, most men of all ranks had abandoned trousers altogether in favour of the Maori-style *rapaki* 'shawls'. Usually checked or tartan, but occasionally striped, these makeshift kilts with fringed ends appeared in a variety of patterns and colours. Bizarre though they look in photographs of stern-faced Victorians with extravagant facial hair, they were much more practical than trousers for long marches in the bush punctuated by many river-crossings. Initially men retained their forage caps and tunics when in 'shawl dress', but during the very late operations they abandoned these too in favour of wide-brimmed slouch hats and loose civilian shirts.

The NZAC had been raised in the belief that active campaigning was at an end and that simple police duties would become the norm; in fact, they were destined to face some of the most determined last-ditch resistance, inspired by two of the most outstanding Maori leaders to emerge from the whole cycle of conflict.

Two groups of NZAC constables in regulation uniforms, *c.* 1868. The dark blue forage cap is trimmed and banded black with a small spherical top tuft, and a silver badge. The dark blue jacket has a slit pocket in the left chest; black shoulder cords; and flat black braid trim around the collar, down the front and around the skirt and in a chevron above the cuffs. Dark blue trousers are worn for foot duty, and Bedford cord breeches for mounted duty (seated figure). The belt equipment is brown; the riflemen have a waist belt with an expense pouch and a frog for the Snider bayonet, while the seated man has an old pouch belt still with the outdated cap-pocket. He (like the riflemen below) wears leggings rather than riding boots. The weapons are the Snider rifle and the British cavalry trooper's sword. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

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The first stage in the practical development of NZAC uniform for bush fighting: 'shawl dress', proudly shown off in a studio portrait. This is Sub-Inspector Frederick Swindley, who was part of an elite Corps of Guides. He wears a silver-braided 'pillbox' forage cap; a dark blue patrol jacket with black braiding; a checkered waist-shawl, and socks and ankle-boots. He seems to carry a Calisher & Terry carbine, and has a belly-pouch on his belt. Note too the haversack, and the blanket-roll in a waterproof cover. (Tim Ryan Collection)

FURTHER READING

A good place to start is *The Colonial New Zealand Wars* by Bill Parham & Tim Ryan (Grantham House, Wellington, 1986), which offers a profusely illustrated overview. James Cowan's *The New Zealand Wars* (first published 1922/23, Government Printer, Wellington) remains invaluable for its scope and for inclusion of a Maori perspective. The most important revisionist work is James Belich's *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland University Press, 1986). Belich has also written a detailed study of the Titokowaru campaign that is both scholarly and exciting – *I Shall Not Die* (Allan & Unwin, Wellington, 1989). Michael Barthorp's *To Face The Daring Maoris* (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1979) provides a rich source of soldiers' impressions of the campaigns of the 1840s. My own *Maori Fortifications* in Osprey's Fortress series (No.81), illustrated by Adam Hook, explores the development of the Maori *pa* in much greater detail than is possible in this book. Many useful articles will also be found in the journal *Te Ao Hou* (The New World), published from 1952 to 1976 by the Maori Affairs Dept, and available online at teaohou.natlib.govt.nz

PLATE COMMENTARIES

A: PRE-COLONIAL WARFARE

A1: Warrior defending a *pa*

While close-quarter fighting was ferocious, it also included a strong element of ritual challenge, exemplified by fierce facial grimacing. This *toa* has fairly simple facial tattooing, but concentric whorled patterns in the hip/buttock area; around his neck hangs a *tiki* image carved from greenstone with shell details. His garment is a *maro* – an apron made of black, twisted cords of flax – and he wields a hardwood *taiha*.

A2: Naked warrior

Many Maori fought naked in pre-colonial times, both for ease of movement and to expose the tattoos that spoke of their prowess. This man shows the extensive tattooing on the hips and buttocks known as *rape,* and vertical and diagonal patterns on the thighs. Although fighting naked became less fashionable as contact with the white man increased, many traditionally-minded warriors continued to do so until the end of the Land Wars. His weapon is again the *taiha*, here with collars of red parrot feathers and white dog-hair indicating a warrior of high status.

A3: *Ariki*

This middle-aged Maori chief has more extensive facial tattoos, and fine greenstone ear pendants. His upper shoulder-cloak of dog-skin is worn over a flax cloak with a patterned border. He comes to the aid of A1 holding the most prized of the Maori array of close-quarter weapons, the greenstone *mere pounamu*.

B: THE 'MUSKET' & 'FLAGSTAFF' WARS, 1820s–40s

B1: *Ariki*

This Maori chief, perhaps placing younger warriors in ambush, has impressive facial tattooing, and *huia* feathers in his hair. He carries a *tewhateka*; the fluttering bundle of feathers caught the light, so it was as useful as a signalling-staff as it was for close-quarter fighting. He wears from his shoulder a prestigious upper cloak of flax completely faced with kiwi feathers, over another flax cloak bordered with decorative patterns. Ornaments worn in both ears feature a shark-tooth painted half-red, with black silk ribbons bought from European traders.

B2: Young warrior

This youth has no distinguishing marks of rank or prowess. He is armed with a battle-axe or *kakauroa*, made by fixing a traded iron hatchet-head to a long, locally made handle. He is wearing a waist-shawl woven from flax decorated with tassels of dark strings.

B3: Warrior with musket

This more mature *toa* has a flintlock 'Brown Bess' musket, its stock characteristically decorated with intricate Maori carved patterning. He carries his cartridges – simply powder and a bullet or slug in a twist of paper – in two home-made cartridge 'boxes' (leather-flapped drilled blocks), and extra powder in a carved whalebone powder horn. His garment is a flax *piupiu* kilt, with a *tatua* belt into which he has thrust a *patiti* tomahawk made from a traded iron hatchet-head with a carved whalebone handle.

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C: BRITISH TROOPS, 1845

C1: Militiaman

These figures are shown as if surprised during a rest pause on a bush march. The earliest militia raised among the settlers in New Zealand were issued arms and equipment by the 58th Regiment. They wore shirt-sleeves rather than jackets, but were given 1829 pattern forage caps with the number removed, and the very dark grey trousers with a red sideseam welt. This farmer has been issued an 1842 cartridge-box belt for his percussion musket, and light field equipment, but no bayonet belt.

C2: Private, 58th Regiment, marching order

The soldier's field dress is based on the watercolour sketches by Maj Cyprian Bridge of this regiment. His 'pork pie' forage cap has a band in the 58th's black facing colour, and the brass regimental number. He is wearing a red shell jacket with regimental facings, winter-issue trousers, and 1850 equipment. Most troops seem to have marched without the unpopular knapsack, carrying their greatcoats and blankets folded up and fastened behind their shoulders in the knapsack straps. Eyewitness accounts stress the wear-and-tear suffered by uniforms and boots during long marches through the bush.

C3: Company officer, 58th Regiment

The officer's forage cap has a sharply angled peak, and an embroidered '58' on (for all non-'Royal' English Line regiments) a black band woven with an oakleaf pattern. The officer's equivalent of the shell jacket is of fine scarlet cloth, and has pointed cuffs and brass shoulder scales. His trousers have a narrow red seam-stripe instead of a welt. He carries the 1822 pattern infantry officers' sword in a scabbard frogged to a white shoulder belt with a gilded regimental 'breast-plate'; this is held steady by his long crimson silk net officers' sash tied at the left of the waist. He has provided himself with a soldier's haversack.

D: BRITISH TROOPS, 1860s

D1: Private, Royal Artillery, 1863

Like most other branches of the service, during the 'Second Maori War' the RA wore blue 'jumpers', with the yellow-banded and buttoned forage cap of their corps, and blue-black trousers with, for the RA, a wide red stripe. Because of the absence of regular cavalry in New Zealand detachments of the Royal Artillery were mounted to serve as cavalry. They carried their sword scabbards fixed to their saddles rather than on a sword belt, and were armed with revolvers and carbines. This gunner, wearing a sword belt, has been dismounted to take part in the assault on the *pa* at Rangiriri; he holds an Adams revolver, and the rather cutlass-like Dundas artillery-pattern sword.

D2: Private, 12th Regiment

The typical 1860s field dress of Imperial infantry in New Zealand: a dark blue 'pork pie' forage cap with brass regimental number, a dark blue 'jumper', and 'Oxford mixture' trousers with a red welt – here, tucked into his socks. His equipment, almost hidden here by his field kit, is basically the same as D1's. A single crossbelt, with percussion-cap pocket, supports his main cartridge box behind his right hip; the 1854 waist belt has the circular infantry clasp, an 1859 'expense' pouch at right front, and the frogged scabbard for his bayonet. Greatcoats were often worn rolled into a bundle to contain the soldier's small kit and tied around the body by the sleeves, making for a rather ungainly appearance (see D3); blankets were also carried *en banderole,* as here.

D3: Company officer, 65th Regiment

The distinctive 1855 officer's forage cap, of low, rigid shape with a flat, 'squared' peak, has a dark blue crown, a black patterned band, and centred on the top a black domed boss surrounded by a 'flower' of black braid loops; it bears the usual embroidered numeral. Although some regiments preferred a type of patrol jacket, this officer wears the same 'jumper' as his men. His sword belt is worn under this, and his revolver holster is slung rather high under his left arm. He carries his iron-grey greatcoat rolled up, with the arms strapped together around his body.

E: *PAI-MARIRE* MOVEMENT, 1860s

E1: Maori warrior, *c.* 1865

This *toa* fighting in the Pai-Marire cause wears a typical transitional costume, a mix of traditional Maori and European items. He has no *moko* tattoos, but sports a moustache and beard in the *pakeha* fashion; some Maori wore large beards, in the style of the Victorian settlers. He has a European trade blanket wrapped around his waist; over his shoulders is a waterproof flax cape, draped to leave the right arm free. He is armed with a *tupara* double-barrelled percussion shotgun – the favourite Maori weapon of the period, since it was lethal in close-quarter fighting in the bush.

E2: Maori woman warrior

Many Maori women continued to wear tattoos on the lower lip and chin throughout the 19th century.This lady of high status is distinguished by her *moko*, *huia* feathers in her hair, ear and neck ornaments, and a prestigious greenstone *mere pounamu.* She wears a combination of a European dress with a fine flax cape, here fastened below the armpits. She too holds a *tupara.*

Te Awiata, a *kupapa* Maori photographed in the 1860s. Only his complete rifle equipment for the P1853 Enfield sets his appearance apart from the warriors he was fighting against. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

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Captain George Buck of HM 14th (Buckinghamshire) Regt in typical 1860s officer's dress, with dark blue forage cap and plain 'jumper' jacket and trousers, the latter with a narrow red seam welt. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, NZ)

E3: *Niu* flagpole with Te Kooti's *te whepu* flag

These flagpoles, copied from the masts of European ships and surrounded by a fence, were an essential part of Pai-Marire ritual, and flags were flown from them during ceremonial dances. The flag shown here at the masthead is Te Kooti's long *te whepu* ('the whip') measuring roughly 52ft x 4ft (15.85m x 1.25m), with motifs of a crescent, a cross, a mountain, a heart pierced by an arrow, and a six-point star. Three other war flags with typical motifs are flown from ropes to the crosstrees. The ends of the crosstrees were carved into open hands.

Maori flags:

All these examples were recorded, though not always their dimensions:

E4a 10ft x 3ft 6in (3m x 1.1m); **E4b** 30ft x 15ft (9m x 4.5m); **E4c** 8ft 6in x 5ft 6in (2.6m x 1.7m); **E4d & E4e** sizes unknown; **E4f** 7ft 6in x 3ft 6in (2.3m x 1m).

F: FOREST RANGERS, 1860s

F1: Major von Tempsky

Frederick Gustavus von Tempsky, the most famous of the Rangers' officers, added a number of flamboyant touches to the unit's practical dark blue campaign dress. He affected a loose dark blue-grey 'Garibaldi'-style shirt with a wide collar, and carried a 1797 pattern sabre from a cavalry belt with a 'snake' clasp. While most Volunteer officers carried British Adams revolvers, Von Tempsky – a veteran of the California gold rush – encouraged his own men to carry a Colt Navy six-shooter instead. He also equipped himself with a small telescope in a slung case, and a Bowie knife.

F2: Private, Forest Rangers

This volunteer wears the typical dark blue forage cap, shirt and trousers; photos and watercolour sketches seem to suggest that uniform items faded quickly and unevenly with prolonged wear, so the trousers might appear a greyer shade. The Ranger has a conventional cartridge box with an 'FR' badge on the flap, slung on a brown crossbelt. The Rangers preferred the breech-loading Calisher & Terry carbine, which was easier to reload in the bush than long-barrelled military rifles. (It operated by a complex three-movement bolt action, but still took a paper cartridge ignited by a separate percussion cap.) Von Tempsky had a number of American-style Bowie knives made for his own company, and the model shown here is based on a surviving example. He trained his men to use them both for parrying blows and attacking, and they had innumerable other uses during long operations in the bush.

F3: Maori *toa*, late 1860s

Although some warriors preferred to stick to traditional weapons and dress throughout the wars, by the 1860s many younger men had adopted European styles – including waistcoats. Both home-made and captured British cartridge-box belts might be worn. Trade 'shawls' were widely worn as kilts. He is armed with the usual shotgun and tomahawk.

G: MILITIA & VOLUNTEERS, 1860s

G1: Militia officer

The New Zealand Militia generally followed regular infantry patterns, although there was considerable variation in their jackets. Some wore blue 'jumpers'; others – as here – preferred patrol jackets edged with black braid, and some purchased more heavily braided jackets with chest loops. Silver shoulder cords were conventional for officers. In action, however, many preferred to wear the same loose blue shirts as their men. Forage caps also varied: some were peaked, like this 1855 pattern; others were peakless 'pillboxes'; some had black braid, and some silver bands and 'figuring' around the crown boss. The weapons are the standard Adams revolver and infantry-pattern sword.

G2: Private, Militia infantry

Most militiamen preferred to wear a loose blue shirt in the field rather than the infantry-style 'jumper'. Some units wore badges or numbers on their forage caps, others did not. This man has a blackened leather cartridge-box belt of 1854 pattern, but his 'expense' pouch is worn on a white waist belt from British stocks. Blankets or greatcoats were tied around the body, in an untidy bundle containing items of kit. His rifle is the P1853 Enfield.

G3: Trooper, Kai-Iwi Cavalry Volunteers

Most of the Volunteer cavalry units wore variations on the theme of a dark blue jacket – in this case fastened with hooks-and-eyes, edged with flat black braid, and with a single black shoulder cord; buff Bedford cord riding breeches; and a blue forage cap, with or without a peak or silver lacing. Weapons were the 1858 cavalry troopers' sword, a revolver, and an 1866 .577 Snider carbine. Pouch belts were of brown leather; some units appear to have had brown sword belts, others white. The Kai-Iwi Cavalry played a prominent, and sometimes controversial, role in the Titokowaru campaign. A photograph of Lt John Bryce of this regiment shows him wearingv a dark blue patrol jacket edged with wide flat black braid and with matching bands across the chest.

Maori women often accompanied war parties and sometimes took an active part in the fighting; this formidable *kupara* lady reportedly killed six opponents in one engagement. She is wearing a flax rain shawl round her waist over European clothes; note the belts with two large cartridge boxes, of typical Maori make, for her double-barrelled *tupara.* (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

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H: NEW ZEALAND ARMED CONSTABULARY, 1868–70s

H1: Constable, 'shawl dress'

The dark blue forage cap with a white-metal 'NZAC' badge has a 'squared' flat peak, and a black oakleaf-pattern band, small spherical tuft and crown piping. (Photographs show considerable variation in the degree of contrast between the black details and the blue ground, the latter appearing relatively light in some cases.) The jacket is dark blue, with five white-metal buttons, no shoulder cords and no external pockets; apart from black edging its only embellishment is a 'scooped' chevron of black wool braid at the top of the cuffs. The matching trousers have been replaced for comfort in the field with a 'shawl'. Most were in checkered or tartan patterns, (though at least one photograph shows broad horizontal stripes); as always, the colours shown here are speculative. He wears black ankle boots over long white knitted socks. His waist belt is brown, with a 'snake' clasp; on his left hip it supports the frog for the 'yataghan'-style sword bayonet of his 1866 .577 Snider rifle. A blanket is rolled inside a waterproof groundsheet and slung around his body.

H2: Constable, bush dress

During the long sweeps through difficult country that marked the end of the campaigns against Titokowaru and Te Kooti from 1868 into the early 1870s, most of the constabulary abandoned their uniforms in favour of waist-shawls, civilian shirts and wide-brimmed slouch hats. Bowie knives were common; NZAC constables carried revolvers as well as rifles, here a Colt. Minimal kit was carried, apparently in thick blanket-rolls slung vertically on the back by straps around the shoulders.

H3: Officer

This rather odd-looking combination is seen in photographs of officers on quite formal occasions. The forage cap has extensive silver lace decoration. The regulation dark blue patrol jacket has black braid edging; black loops, toggles and trefoil knots on the chest; and a black Austrian knot above the cuffs. The waist-shawl in this case is shown as of a tartan pattern. The pouch and waist belts are brown, the latter with an NZAC buckle, a pistol cartridge pouch, and a holster butt-forwards on the left side; revolvers were increasingly carried on a waist belt rather than from the shoulder cross straps favoured earlier by regular infantry officers. The white slings for his sword scabbard emerge from under the jacket.

Early photograph of a group of Forest Rangers, still carrying the rifles which they later replaced with Calisher & Terry carbines. Note that two different shapes of forage cap are worn, one of them resembling a Scots bonnet. A rare watercolour suggests that with long wear the trousers may have faded almost to a sky-blue/grey shade. (Tim Ryan Collection)

By the end of the campaigns against Titokowaru and Te Kooti the NZ Armed Constabulary had discarded their forage caps and tunics for bush duty in favour of slouch hats and civilian shirts – see Plate H2. The constable on the right, dressed identically, serves with one of the units of Maori Constabulary recruited from the Awara tribe for the Te Kooti campaign. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)

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INDEX

References to illustrations are shown in **bold**. References to plates are shown in **bold** with captions in brackets.

agriculture 4, 19
Alexander, J.E. 24, 38
American explorers 7, 13
Aotearoa 4, 6
archaeology 4
ariki (chief) 5, 13, 16, 20, **A3** (25, 44) **B1** (26, 44)
Auckland 14, 38, 42
Australia 6, 13, 34, 40, 42

Bent, Kimble 34
Boulcott's Farm 14
Bridge, Maj 36
British settlers 3, 4, 7, 13, 15, 16, 17
British troops 10, 14, 16–17, 24, 33–40; 40th Regiment **D2** (28, 45), 37; 57th Regiment **15**, 34; 58th Regiment 11, **C2**, **C3** (27, 45), 34, 36; 65th Regiment **D3** (28, 45); 68th Light Infantry **37**, **39**; Military Train 35, 40; Royal Artillery **D1** (28, 45), 35, 39–40; *see also* Royal Navy
Bryce, Lt John 46
Buck, Capt George **46**
bush ambushes 8, 24, 42, 43

Cameron, Gen Sir Duncan 16, **40**
cannibalism 6
canoes 4, 6, 7, 33
casualties 11, 14, **17**, 19
Chatham Islands 18
chiefs *see ariki*
clothing **4**, **17**, **18**, 21–2, 24, **33**, 34, 43, 44; *see also* flax cloaks; headgear; uniforms
Colonial forces 13, 18, 33, 41–3
Cook, Capt James 5, 7

defences 8–9, 10–11
Despard, Col 11
Dutch explorers 6–7

Egerton, Lt **36**
equipment 36, 41
European settlers *see pakeha*

facial expressions 19–20, 44
feathers **4**, 21, **22**, 44, 45
Fencibles 42
fishing 4, 19
flags **E3**, **E4** (29, 46), 33
Flagstaff War (1843–47) 13–14, **15**, **B** (26, 44), 35, 41
flax 5, 11, 21; cloaks **3**, **4**, **5**, **14**, **16**, **17**, 21–2, **23**, **33**, 44
food 4, 5, 24; *see also* sweet potato
Forest Rangers **F** (30, 46), 42–3, **47**
fortifications *see pa*s
French explorers 7, 13
fur 21–2

Gate *pa* **10**, 11, **17**, 33, 40
geography 5, 8
'Good and Peaceful' movement *see* Pai-Marire
Grey, Sir George 16, 17
'gunfighters' *pa*s' 9–10

hair 21, 22, 45
haka (chanting) 20
hapu (sub-tribe) 3, 4, 5, 8, 19, 20
Hau Haus 17
headgear 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 45, 46
Heke, Hone 11, 13, 14, **36**
Hine-te-aparangi 4
Hobson, Capt William 13
Hongi Hika 7, 13
Horokiri 14
hunting 4, 19
Hutt River valley campaign (1846–7) **8**, 14, 41

Imperialism 3, 6–7
Indian Mutiny (1857) 35, 37
intertribal conflicts 3–4, 5–6, 14
iwi (tribes) 3, 4, 5, 8, 15, 17, 20

Jackson, Capt William 42

Kai-Iwi Cavalry **G3** (31, 46)
Kamareira Te Hau Takiri Wharepapa **4**
Kane, Charles 34
Kawiti 14
King Movement (Kingitanga) (1850s–60s) 15–17, 18
Kororareka 13, 14
kupapa Maori 33–4, **45**

land ownership 3, 8, 13, 15–19, 34
leadership 20
logistics 24

Makahi-Nuka *pa* **8**
mana (spiritual power) 5, 6, 10, 18, 19, 20, 23, 33
Mangapohatu 19
Maniopoto, Rewi 17
Maoris 3, 4–5; and British claim 13, 16, 33–4; and firearms 7–8, 9–10; and warfare 19–20, 24; *see also kupapa* Maori
Matawhero attack (1868) 18
Mercer, Capt Henry 39
Mere Mere 16, 40
Mihaka Tumuakuingi **34**
Militia Act (1845) 41
militiamen **C1** (27, 45), **G1**, **G2** (31, 46), 41–2, 43
moko see tattoos
Moremonui, battle of (1807) 7
Moutoa, battle of (1864) 33
Musket Wars (1820–43) 3–4, 5, 6, 7–8, 10, 13, 20, **B** (26, 44)

nakedness 21, 44
Napoleonic Wars (1803–15) 23, 35, 36
New Zealand: and British claim 13, 15–16, 34; government 41–2; settlement of 4–5, 6–7; *see also* North Island; South Island
New Zealand Armed Constabulary (NZAC) **H** (32, 47), 33, 43, **44**
New Zealand Wars (1820–1872) 3–4, 18–19, 43; map **12**
Ngaiterangi tribe **16**
Ngapuhi tribe 7, 11, 13, 14
Ngati Maru tribe 18, 20
Ngati Ruanui tribe 17–18
Ngati Toa tribe 13–14, 15
Ngati Tumatakokiri tribe 7
Ngati Whatua tribe 7
Ngatihine tribe 14
North Island 4, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 34

Ohaeawai *pa* 11
Orakau *pa* 17

Pai-Marire (1860s–70s) 17–19, **E** (29, 45), 33
Paitini Wa Tapeka **24**
pakeha (European settlers) 3, 6–7, 8, 13, 15, 21, 22; and Maoris 34; *see also* British settlers
palisades **8**, 9, 10, 11
Parihaka 19
*pa*s (fortifications) 5, 8–11, 13, 14, 16, 33
payback *see utu*
Polynesia 4
population figures 15
Potatau te Wherewhero 15
Pratt, MajGen 11, 13, 16
Pukehinahina **10**, 11, **17**
Puketakauere *pa* 37
Puketutu *pa* **36,** 40

raids 7–8, 19
Rangiriri *pa* 11, 16, **17**, 39
religion 17–19
Rongomai 19
Royal Navy 40
Rua Kenana 19
Ruapekapeka 40

sapping 11, 13
settlement 41–2
smoke-dried heads 6, 20
South Island 4, 7, 13–14
spiritual power *see mana*
stockades **11**, **38**
sub-tribes *see hapu*
sweet potato 4, 8, 24

tactics 11, 13, 20
Tamihana Te Ruaparaha 15
Taranaki campaign (1860) 11, 13, 16–17, 19, 39, 41
Tasman, Abel 6–7
tattoos **3**, **4**, 20–1, 22, **23**, 44, 45
Tauranga-Ika *pa* **11**, **16**, 18, 39
Tawhaio **3**, 15, 18
Te Arei *pa* 13, 16
Te Awiata 16, **45**
Te Kohia *pa* 16
Te Kooti Rikirangi 18, 20, 23, 43, 46
Te Ngutu *pa* 18
Te Porere *pa* 18
Te Rangihaeata 14
Te Ruaparaha 14
Te Whiti 19
Titokowaru, Riwha 17–18, 19, 33, 34, 43
toa (warrior) **3**, 19–20, 22, **A1**, **A2** (25, 44), **B2**, **B3** (26, 44) **E1** (29, 45), **F3** (30, 46), **33**
tools 5, **6**, 8
trade 7, 13, 14, 19, 23
transport 8, 33, 40
Treaty of Waitangi (1840) 13, 14, 34
trenches 9, 10–11, 13, 40
tribes *see iwi*
Turuturu Mokai 18, 34

uniforms 35–9, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47
utu (payback) 5, 14, 19

Victoria, Queen of England 15
volunteers **G3** (31, 46), 42, 43
Von Tempsky, Maj Frederick Gustavus **F1** (30, 46), 42

Waikato 15, 16, 39, 40, 41
Wairau 14
Waitangi Treaty *see* Treaty of Waitangi (1840)
Waitara 16
Wanganui 14, 33–4, **38**
warrior *see toa*
weaponry **6**, 9–10, 23–4; Bowie knives 42, 46; breech-loaders 39–40, 42, 46; Coehorn mortars 40; Congreve rockets **36**; flintlock muskets 7, 23, 44; hand-weapons **5**, 23, 44; percussion-lock shotguns 24, **33**, 37, 38, 45; pole-arms 22, **24**; revolvers 41, 42; scabbards 39; ships' guns 40; tomahawks 14, 23, 45; *tupara* shotguns **16**, 24, 45
Wellington Militia 41
whalebone 23, 24
whares (thatched homes) 8
wildlife 4, 5
Williams, Henry 20
Williams, Sgt 36
women 20, 21, **E2** (29, 45), **46**
World Wars 19

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The Publishers regret that they can enter into no correspondence upon this matter.

Glossary of Maori terms

ariki	chief
hapu	sub-tribe
iwi	tribe
hieke	flax rain-cloak (also *pake*)
kakaurora	long-handled axe
korowai	decorated flax cloak
mana	spiritual power of individual or group
maro	flax apron
mere pounamu	greenstone hand-weapon
moko	tattoos
ngutu parera	flintlock musket
pa	fortified settlement, fortress
pakeha	white settlers
patiti	iron tomahawk
patu kotiate	whalebone hand-weapon
pekerangi	outer screen palisade of *pa*
piupiu	flax kilt
rapaki	waist-blanket (European)
rape	whorled tattoos on buttocks
taiaha	pole-weapon
tapu	sacred
tatua	flax belt
tewhatewha	pole-weapon/signalling staff
toa	warrior
tupara	double-barrelled shotgun
utu	'payback'
waka taua	war canoe
whare	thatched house

Tawhaio, the second Maori king, photographed in 1882. His impressive facial tattoing, and the quality of his richly bordered flax cloak, both speak of his high status as a warrior chief enjoying great personal prestige. (Michael Graham-Stewart Collection)